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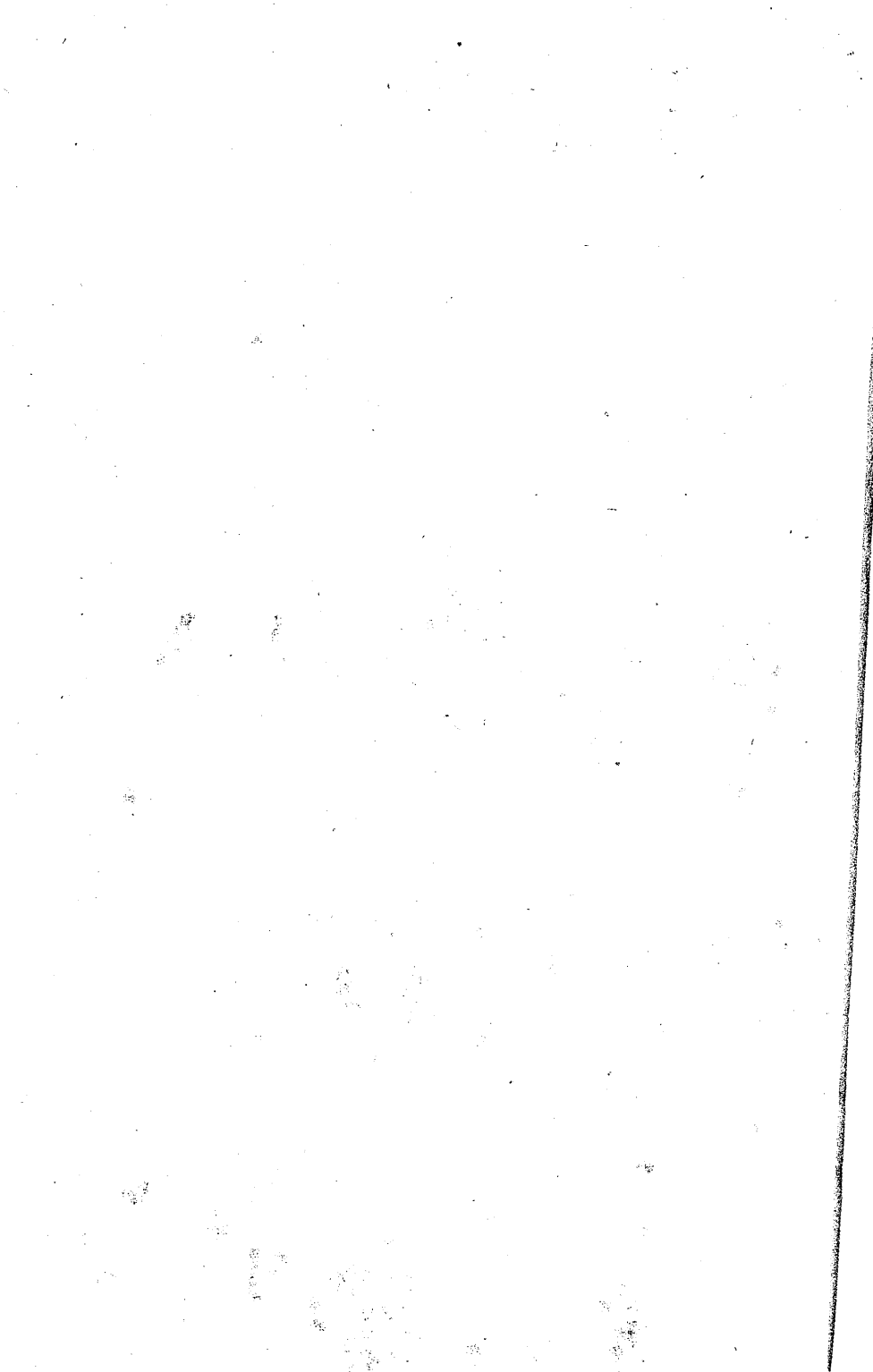
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220
220
220





THE
PROPHET DANIEL.



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DANIEL,

AN

IMPROVED VERSION ATTEMPTED;

WITH

A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION,

AND NOTES

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND EXPLANATORY.

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A

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

THE Providence of God, ever attentive to the welfare of the whole creation, hath contrived a great variety of methods wherewith to exercise the skill and industry of men. One distinguished property there is which belongs to them all, that they discover the marks of sovereign wisdom, and the more they are studied and explored, the brighter traces of this wisdom are manifested. This truth has often been acknowledged by those who have with the minutest care and most exact attention examined into the works of God. And it is one great presumption in favour of his word, that the like investigation which recommends his works, strongly pleads in behalf of this also, and the proportion of our deepest researches in both cases, if conducted with suitable fairness and candour, will redound nearly to the proportional credit of each.

It must be confessed that the books of the New Testament have by many ingenious Writers of this nation, in a variety of forms, been surveyed and examined; and perhaps we may attribute it in a considerable measure to this diligent attention, that the Christian Religion ought certainly not to be considered as in a declining state amongst us, but is generally received by the Patrons of Learning and the most enlightened Advocates for Truth, with that zeal

and regard which are suitable to its divine Authority. The books of the Old Testament contribute in a very great degree to illustrate and confirm the Truths and Doctrines of the New: Our learned Men have therefore begun not long since to revise these with that close attention which they always deserved, and to which the discoveries of later times have given them a more especial title. Not that there have been wanting persons of ability who have *long since* explained and illustrated the ancient Scriptures, but their free spirits were constrained and tied down by some inveterate prejudices, such as the absolute Incorruptibility of the Hebrew Text, and the close adherence to the Masoretic Punctuation as essential to the Language, from which more recent authors have been happily emancipated.

The Writings of the Prophets have this peculiar advantage, that by holding forth matter which is constantly receiving its completion, they daily furnish the Christian world with new occurrences of concern; so that, exclusive of all the beauties and ornaments of composition, which furnish a very wide field of useful entertainment, they serve also continually to establish the Christian in his most holy Faith, by supplying the argument from Prophecy with a constantly increasing evidence. To set these writings in a clearer light, and to offer them to the world in a more improved English Dress, has been the intent and endeavour of some distinguished modern publications.

The late Lord Bishop of London first designed the plan, and has executed his share of it in the most masterly manner. In the preliminary Dissertation to his Isaiah the reader may find the whole scheme fully delineated, the reasons and motives that induced this pious Prelate to the undertaking, and the tracks he pursued in the execution. So happily was this first part finished, that it was feared the very completion of it might prevent the further advancement of the plan, as few writers could expect to equal so great a master. However not many years after the learned

Dr. Blayney, now Canon of Christ Church, and Royal Professor of Hebrew in Oxford, published the Prophecy and Lamentations of Jeremiah in the like form, and with very considerable success. He was followed by my most ingenious and much honoured friend Dr. Newcome, the present Bishop of Waterford, who favoured the world with a Translation and Notes, first on the Minor Prophets, and afterwards on Ezekiel. He has somewhat varied from the form of his Predecessors, but yet the general design has been executed with that comprehensive conciseness, and copious learning, which might be expected from the pen of this classical writer.

Thus have the Works of three of the Greater and all of the Lesser Prophets been attended to with due deference. I wish the same learned Prelate, who has had so large a share in this business, could have found leisure for a Comment upon the only remaining part, the Book of Daniel, instead of recommending it to the Author of these Sheets. However, in consequence of such recommendation, he turned his thoughts to it, and after having read and noted it with much care and study, at length determined to revise and arrange his Notes, in order to present them to the Public, if nothing should previously appear that might supersede their design: Such was his general intention.

But before we proceed to a more particular detail, it will naturally and justly be expected that some account should be given of the Book itself, and of the Author of it, that the reader may be better prepared for a minute examination of its contents.

1.—As to THE AUTHOR: Daniel was of the tribe of Judah *, and of very illustrious, if not of royal Descent †.

* Chap. i. v. 6.

† Chap. i. v. 4. It will be needless to point out the reference to every particular: from this first Chapter the chief of the following Character is taken, and is in the main confirmed by Josephus in his Antiq. x. 10. Ed. Hud.

Josephus* favours the latter opinion, and says he was of the family of Zedekiah, who was the last king of Judah before the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem by Nebuzaradan, the commander in chief of the Chaldean forces. At the beginning of the captivity he was carried away to Babylon, and was probably at that time not more than eighteen years† of age. He was possessed of extraordinary endowments both of body and mind. The comeliness and strength of his person recommended him to the particular notice of the chief chamberlain amongst the Babylonians; and these qualities were increased by his habitual temperance and abstinence, insomuch that his figure was one of the most graceful of all that were appointed for the immediate attendance on king Nebuchadnezzar.

But still the strength and habits of the mind must form the character; and these in Daniel were of a very superior cast, whether considered as the gifts of nature, or as the acquisitions of well-applied industry. *An excellent Spirit‡ was in him*, which directed him to all the proper means of knowledge, and the right improvement of them; so that he became master of all the literature of the Chaldeans, and was ten times superior to all the Magi or Wise Men of the East. He was not only renowned for secular wisdom, but favoured with divine illuminations; had extraordinary insight into visions, and discernment in the interpretation of dreams. Qualified with these abilities he was admitted to the special favour of several very powerful monarchs, of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius, and Cyrus: And hence he is presumed not only to have resided in the court at Babylon, but occasionally also in those of Media and

* Antiq. x. 10. Ed. Hud.

† At ver. 4. he and his companions are called in the Heb. ילדים. Josephus calls them παῖδες; ubi supra.

‡ I have rendered this passage, *an enlarged mind* was in him, Chap. v. 12, as thinking it more agreeable to the sense of the words, but the meaning in either form amounts to much the same.

Persia ; thus finely illustrating that judicious aphorism of Solomon, Prov. xxii. 29.

Seest thou a man ready at dispatch in his business,
He shall be placed before Kings, he shall not be placed before
the obscure.

Nor was he less distinguished for his rare virtues, than for the extensive improvement of his understanding. His meekness, humility, and disinterestedness, his attachment to his friends, and ardent affection for his country, his fortitude in speaking the truth to kings, and the dexterity of his address in offering it in the most courteous and pleasing manner, are traits that are discernible upon the first attention to his character. But above all his eminent piety, like an illustrious radiance, strikes through the whole of his book ; and we need not wonder that he should be such an especial Favourite of Heaven, who is every where and at all times solicitous to display his gratitude to the God of Heaven, and to aspire constantly to the due acknowledgment of that universal Power, whose Will is guided by the most bounteous Beneficence, and exercised in the most diffusive manifestations of transcendent mercy.

The Scripture has given us but a short and unconnected account of this excellent man ; but short and scattered as it is, we find in it some of the strongest lineaments of real character, and the most beautiful marks of finished life. And in particular his great wisdom and exemplary piety are celebrated by his fellow-captive Ezekiel*, in that simple but bold energy of expression, which characterises the style of that ardent Writer. Daniel lived to a good old age†, to see the restoration of his captive brethren, and to enjoy the favour of that Monarch who restored them to

* Chap. xiv. 14. and xxviii. 3. In this last place, " Art thou wiser than Daniel ? " seems to have the appearance of a proverbial expression. See Peters on Job, p. i. sect. 12.

† At least to the third year of Cyrus, Chap. x. 1.

their beloved Zion. Some think that he returned with them to Jerusalem, but neither Ezra nor Nehemiah mention this circumstance, so that the opinion of Josephus is more probable, that he died amongst the Medes*. Such is the example which the Scriptures afford us in the life of this holy Man; his character as a Prophet will fall more properly under the next point of discussion.

II.—HIS BOOK: It is a singular circumstance that the language of this is of two distinct kinds; which however may fairly be accounted for without any imputation on the credit of the Book, or the judgment of the Author. The people of the Jews during the time of the captivity had in a great measure been compelled to a conformity with the manners and customs of Babylon: Not only the proper Names† of several of their most eminent persons were altered, but their language had received into it many new words from the Chaldean: even their letters were changed, and the Chaldee character assumed in their stead. It is generally agreed that this is the character in which our present Bibles are printed, and that the original Hebrew was what is now called the Samaritan‡, of which the only genuine remains is the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Prophet Daniel had been early taught the language§ of the Chaldeans, and from a long residence in the country may be presumed to have been well acquainted with it;

* Some are of opinion that he was buried in Susan, the capital of Persia. See this opinion ingeniously supported by Dr. Prideaux, *Con. p. i. b. 3.* According to Epiphanius he died at Babylon; but the more probable account is, that he was interred at Ecbatane, in Media, where he built a Tower, as Josephus informs us, of very elegant and exquisite workmanship, used as a sepulture for the Kings of the Medes, Persians, and Parthians. *Ant. x. xi. 7. Ed. Hud.* However the authority of Benjamin of Tudela may be unfavourable to this opinion, yet I scarce think it sufficient to overturn the testimony of Josephus.

† Chap. i. 7.

‡ See Walton's *Proleg. xi.* prefixed to the London Polyg. *Frid. Con. p. i. b. 5. §. 5.* Scaliger's *Animadv. on the Chron. of Euseb. &c.* The more modern Syriac or the language that was used at Antioch and other parts of Syria, is a sort of dialect of the ancient Syriac or Chaldec, and has a different Character.

§ Chap. i. 4.

his Book also seems to have been designed not only for the Jews who returned from the captivity, but for those either Jews or Israelites who remained at Babylon, and not without regard to the benefit of the Chaldeans themselves, whose annals might receive confirmation from his work, and be alleged as vouchers of its authenticity. Now what could be more natural than that an author thus circumstanced should contrive his work in a manner the most extensively useful; and with this view should compose a part of it in the language of that country wherein he dwelt, and whose character he used, and the other part in the original language of the Church of God.

Neither is the objection to the authenticity of this Chaldee part well founded, that there are many words introduced into it of an apparently spurious origin, and which seem borrowed from the Greeks or other more western nations. For admitting the fact to be as represented, it is common to most languages to adopt terms of art from others, and therefore is no more than might be expected in the instance before us. But may it be farther observed, that in general the form and construction of these particular nouns is such, that they may as reasonably be presumed to have been borrowed by those foreign nations, as to have been exported from them. And it should be well remembered that before the navigation to India by the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean was understood, the treasures of that country were brought to Chaldea as early as the days of Semiramis; and Niniveh first, and afterwards Babylon, were the grand marts to which men usually resorted from the western countries for this kind of merchandize.

Nor were there wanting other methods of communication between the Greeks and the people of the East. Edom, on the borders of Palestine, was a city of great trade and flourishing commerce till the time of King David; and afterwards Tyre succeeded it, and was the most flourishing commercial city in the world: Ezekiel in his 27th Chap-

ter * has left us a very valuable memoir of the many and various nations that traded with this famous city. Numerous voyages by sea, as well as expeditions by land, were made in the reign of King Solomon, and the traffic of the people of Israel must at that time have been very considerable: And where the communications between distant nations must be so frequent and constant, it is but natural to expect that somewhat of the languages of the different peoples might be incorporated into each other. It has been also observed by most of the Historians of credit, as quoted by Sir John Marsham, that many colonies of Greeks

* Having mentioned this curious passage, I cannot help taking notice here of the high sense I entertain of its excellence. Considered in a geographical, and at the same time a poetical light, perhaps there is nothing to be found equal to it in its kind among all the Treasures of Antiquity. In the former respect it may be looked upon as a sort of key to open to later times the knowledge of the original peopling of the world. Most of the names mentioned in it agree with those in the Mosaic account, and the settlement of the descendants of Noah's sons have by means of this piece been traced out as low as the period of the Babylonish Captivity. At this time knowledge was generally disseminated, the history of the people of Israel became dispersed among the nations of the world, and one advantage resulting from the captivity was, the publishing throughout the earth by this Prophecy of Ezekiel the real origin of nations, and the primeval dispersion of men.

In order to show its excellency in a poetical view, let it be compared with Homer's ships in the second book of the *Iliad*, or with Virgil's warriors in the seventh *Æneid*; and I suppose in extent or simplicity of communication the discerning reader will not scruple to give the preference to the sacred Bard. In both the Greek and the Latin Poems the narrative is not only introduced with a pompous exordium, but continued in each to a very considerable length; whereas in Ezekiel a far wider extent of country, and some of the distinguishing characteristics of most of the nations upon earth, are comprised in less compass than a single chapter. Not only the isles of Chittin and the distant coasts of the Mediterranean, but the several kingdoms of Asia, and even the interior as well as more known parts of Africa, are in a kind of regular succession summoned as attendants on this commercial city, to join in the lamentation of Tyre, and to behold with general astonishment its fatal and final catastrophe.

Milton, who had not only the pagan but the sacred writers in his view, has improved this advantage in a similar instance with the arrangement before us, in the first book of his *Paradise Lost*. His subject is the wide and in fact almost universal diffusion of idolatry; and he summons the idols for all the earth as a part of the Conclave of Satan, those

———— who durst fix
Their seats long after next the seat of God,
Their altars by his altar, Gods ador'd,
Among the nations round ———

And hence his imagination has ample range, the whole world, except Judea, being before him, and falling within the compass of his description; which however capacious and vast, or finely executed, cannot but be accounted both horrible and painful

migrated into Asia some hundreds of years before the captivity, and this circumstance, together with the connexion between the Asiatic kingdoms on the confines of Greece, must facilitate the transition of technical words at least from one country to the other. But more notice will be taken of this matter when we meet with some of these exotic terms, as we shall speak also again of the Chaldee language at our entrance upon it in the following Notes.

THE substance or matter contained in this book has been commonly divided into two classes; the Historical in the six former Chapters, and the Prophetical in the six latter. Not but that there are visions or predictions in the historical part; yet these were not offered to Daniel, but to other persons, the circumstances of which he has recorded. As I intend to speak more at large on this part, I shall beg leave to invert the order, and offer a few observations first on the Prophetical.

Now the well-known objections of Porphyry * from the clearness, exact agreement with their completion, and such like peculiar marks of full evidence in these predictions, have been long since refuted by Eusebius †, Jerom ‡, and other writers; and however they may have been revived by modern Jews and Infidels in similar forms, and with as deeply rooted prejudices, yet it surely must be an argument of temper strongly disposed to contention and cavil, to presume that those Scriptures were written after the events which they record, because the holy Spirit of God had vouchsafed to point them out in so minute a manner.

* Celsus and Porphyry were both very learned writers and enemies to Christianity; the former an Epicurean that lived in the time of Marcus Antoninus the philosopher, and probably reached the reign of Aurelius, was ably answered and refuted by Origen: he is placed by Dr. Lardner in the second century, about the year 176; the latter was born at Tyre, in the year of Christ 233; was commonly classed with Celsus, and his twelfth book was written against the Prophet Daniel.

† Bishop of Caesarea in his 18th, 19th, and 20th Vol. according to Jerom.

‡ See his preface on Daniel, written about the year 407 after Christ.

He to whom all his works are known from the foundation of the world could certainly foresee every contingency, and foretel every circumstance, that would concur in their accomplishment.

Besides this book in its present form was received into the Canon of Scripture most probably from the earliest times; according to Josephus* was exhibited to Alexander, in part at least, within 200 years after the death of Daniel; and, together with the other Scriptures, was translated by the LXX † many years before the days of Antiochus; which translation was well known in the age of Jerom, and referred to by him ‡, although not come down to us. For as to the edition lately published from a MS. in the Chigian Library at Rome, though it contains much useful information, yet it has often such evident marks of a Paraphrase or other similar production, that it cannot claim the least pretension to a pure and unadulterated translation of the first authority. Since the times of Antiochus, as has been justly observed §, it is impossible that such a work as this of Daniel could have been forged. Such a supposition cannot be entertained, without the most palpable

* Ant. xi. 8. Porphyry was in the wrong to deny the genuineness of the Book of Daniel, which had been always received by the Jews, as we perceive from the books of Maccabees and Josephus, and from our Evangelists. Lardner's Works 8vo. Vol. ii. p. 201.

† Some persons may perhaps think this argument of no weight, or that it cannot be supported. Though what is now advanced may be sufficiently established without it, yet the reader will find reasons for the mention of it in the latter part of this Dissertation, to which I must refer him.

‡ Bishop Chandler points out fifteen places wherein Jerom refers to the LXX of Daniel, and gives out of it different Readings from the Version of Theodotion, and sometimes from those of Aquila and Symmachus. Vind. of the Def. Chap. i. Sect. 3.

§ From a careful attendance to the circumstances of the Jewish affairs, no portion of time from Antiochus to Herod can be assigned for forging such a book as Daniel's with any success. Nor could it be forged in Judea, but the far greater body of the Jews that remained in Babylon must be alarmed by it; and after Alexander the Great, and especially after Antiochus Epiphanes the Jews were dispersed in such numbers throughout Egypt and Asia Minor, that the whole nation must be consenting to the fraud, or it could not be contrived in one place, and not be opposed by all the rest. See Vind. of Def. Chap. ii. Sect. 1. See also Dr. Halifax (late Bishop of St. Asaph's) second Sermon at the Warburtonian, Lectures, where are many just and well-arranged arguments in favour of the authenticity of this book.

violation of the faith of History, without the maintenance of such principles as would equally militate against the code of the Old Testament. We must therefore receive the whole book as it now stands, according to the general sense of Jews * and Christians, according to the express words of Josephus †, who asserts it to be of divine authority, and according to the language of our Blessed Saviour himself, who cites the book of Daniel, and expressly calls the Author of it a *Prophet* ‡.

And if we reflect on the nature of his predictions we shall certainly be inclined to consider him as of the first rank among the Prophets. The Revelations of this Prophetical part are only four, all of which were communicated to David himself, with such an attention to the minuter circumstances or punctualities of place and time, as no other Prophet had been favoured with. The former of these is indeed of a more general nature, and being a sort of epitome of the others, and written in Chaldee, may be presumed to have been designed for more general benefit; the second appears to be confined to the Persian and Grecian empires, yet with a distant respect to subsequent matters in later times. The third at Chap. ix. is intended chiefly to typify and point out the coming of the Messiah, and its attendant circumstances; part of which Josephus § himself applies to the times of the Romans: And the last seems to unfold some of the most distinguishing scenes relating to the Church of God, from the full restoration of the Jews after the Captivity to the final Determination of all Things. Thus is the Chronological Order properly preserved in this arrangement; and the whole

* Maimonides in his *Moreh Nevochim*, p. ii. c. 45, has some observations which tend to lessen the high prophetic estimation that has been generally assigned to Daniel; but other learned Jews, as Abarbanel and Jacchiades have sufficiently refuted him. "Negari certe non potest Daniele plenum fuisse Spiritu prophetico, habuisse illustres Visiones et somnia prophetica, et omnia Prophetarum ἀξιώματα insigni ratione illi convenire." Calov.

† Εὐρησεν το βιβλιον του Δανιηλου εν τοις ιεροις γραμμασιν. Ant. x. x. 4.

‡ Mark, xiii. 14.

§ Ant. x. xi. 7.

may be considered as one comprehensive view of things *, worthy the Divine Interference, confirmed by the Writings of the New Testament, to which the History of God's Church has afforded an evident illustration from the commencement of the Predictions to the present period, and which we doubt not will receive their finishing complement at that awful crisis, when we shall all, together with the Prophet, stand up for the award of our decisive lot at the end of time †.

It must be confessed that in some of these predictions there is an apparent obscurity ; but perhaps not greater than in those of other Prophets, which look forward to distant and different periods of accomplishment. In all real Prophecies the Power and Attributes of God are so far at least concerned as to be engaged for their Truth, or in other words, they must be true. How much beyond this in the mode of publication may be left to the tempers, abilities, habits, and like circumstances of men, is not easy for us to determine. What wise purposes may be answered by such interference, whether to prevent any infringement on moral agency, to secure the safety of the immediate

* The Prophecies of Daniel are all of them related to one another, as if they were but several parts of one general Prophecy, given at several times : Every following prophecy adds something new to the former. Sir Is. Newton's Observations on Daniel, p. i. c. 3.

† "Danielem Judæi Prophetam esse negant ; verum argumentis valde futilibus sententiam suam confirmatum eunt ; nam quæ de dotis Propheticæ conditionibus, de diversis ejusdem gradibus, deque discrimine inter veram Prophetiam et Spiritum Sanctum, statuunt, ea omnia sunt vanissima, nec in rei natura posita, neque ulla sacrorum scriptorum auctoritate comprobata. Addunt, eundem nec disciplinæ propheticæ usu et præceptis primo imbutum fuisse, neque postea more prophetico vitam instituisse : quod ad cœlestis instinctus et divinæ facultatis opinionem minuendam quid faciat, non video ; causam forsitan ostendit, cur Danielis stylus tantam habeat a reliquis dissimilitudinem, tantumque abhorreat a poetico charactere, quem cæteri fere communem habent, quemque e disciplina et scholis aliqua ex parte hauserunt." De Sacra Poesi Heb. Præl. xx. p. 197, 198.

In the account that Josephus gives of this book he chiefly recounts the historical parts, but observes also that the Author not only prophesied of things to come, like other Prophets, but hath also determined the time wherein those things should happen. Ant. x. 10, 11. And again, in the first book against Apion, he reckons the Book of Daniel amongst the thirteen books of the Prophets. Origen also places Daniel among the Prophets and before Ezekiel, and in this he follows Melito bishop of Sardis, who died anno 177. See his catalogue in Euseb. Eccles. Hist. iv. 26.

agents, or to exercise the understanding and skill of future ages, are known only unto Him to whom the whole comprehensive system of things, with all their modifications, varieties, and consequences, from their commencement to their dissolution, is *naked and open* *. This mixture however of human imperfection, in what degree soever it is, may be the chief occasion that some of the Predictions are not readily or perfectly understood even after their completion. That they have in themselves a clear and decisive meaning is not in the least to be doubted; that this meaning may be in a great and satisfactory measure discovered and pointed out has been verified by long and continued experience: Enough has been long since seen to induce us to view with admiration the Divine Contrivance; and it is extremely probable, that it is altogether owing to the weakness and ignorance of man, with some little allowances for the ravages of time, that a complete Illustration is not thrown upon all the Prophecies already fulfilled, and which we promise ourselves will hereafter appear, when we shall no more *know in part*, or be favoured only with an enigmatical view of things, but be gratified with the clearest intuitive evidence, shall *know even as we are known* †.

The light however which we now enjoy is progressive and gradually advancing: many of the mists of ignorance and error are already dispersed. It is probable that they will yield more and more to diligent and rational inquiry, that through the exertions of successive labourers new manifestations will continue to be disclosed, and hidden mysteries unfolded.—To say nothing of the rest, the Revelation at Chapter the Ninth will, I trust, receive some elucidation from the ensuing work: it evidently relates to two very distinguished Events, two grand Deliverances or Redemptions, the one typical of the other. The latter of these had long before appeared to Abraham in the eye of

* Heb. iv. 13.

† 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

Faith, who *rejoiced to see the day** of its Author; and therefore we have the less reason to wonder that Daniel was enabled to calculate the time of his coming. Certain it is, that it was the same Divine Spirit that illumined all the ancient Prophets, *that spake in times past to the fathers by them*† all: His communications were made to them at *sundry times and in divers manners*, but all were united and linked together in one great chain, swelling and enlarging as it approached to its end. The Prophecies of Daniel had a very considerable share in this august series, with which the Religion of Christ was fundamentally connected ‡, and by the contemplation of which it is still maintained and established. The whole arrangement led on to the Messiah, and in him it finally terminates, so that we have every reason to conclude with the divine Author of the Apocalypse, that *the Testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of Prophecy*§.

AMONGST the preceding Observations some have been occasionally mentioned which tend to confirm the authority of the whole Book of Daniel, and therefore should not be forgotten to be applied to the remaining part which we are now proceeding to consider; and if the Reader should discover any observations in the subsequent discussion, which might equally or more properly apply to the former, he will avail himself of them, and excuse the defects of system, which when the occasion requires must be sacrificed, as well as every other prejudice, at the Shrine of Truth. And here I would observe, though it has been

* John viii. 56.

† Heb. i. 1.

‡ To reject the Prophecies of Daniel is to reject the Christian Religion, which is founded upon his prophecy concerning the Messiah. Sir Isaac Newton, ubi supra.

§ Rev. xix. 10. See also John xiii. 19. and Acts x. 43. Munster observes, that the main design of Daniel is to set forth the glorious and eternal kingdom of Christ, and to show that all the kingdoms of the world are vain and perishing compared with it: And that in this he hath the palm among the Prophets, that he foretels the very point as it were wherein the Jewish ceremonies were to cease, and the kingdom of Christ to begin. Crit. Sac. on Daniel, Chap. i.

often noted before, that some of the Jewish and other writers, reflecting chiefly on the historical part of this Book, or on the very eminent situations of this illustrious man, or from some more sinister prejudice, have ranked his work amongst the Chethubim or Hagiographal parts* of the Old Testament rather than the Prophetical. Though whilst they consider the whole as sacred, it is not very material in what class they place it, yet still it should be remembered, that even in the former part there are Predictions recorded, which look forward to very distant periods; that it was “the same Spirit which illuminated the minds of some of the Prophets in the sheep-folds, and of others in regal palaces†;” and that even the History itself has plainly a relation to several distinguished events on which the Prophecies are grounded, to the circumstances of the person who relates them, or of the people for whom they are chiefly intended; that it contains instructions in many excellent truths, exhortations to the most exemplary virtues, and awakening calls to a due conviction of the power of God from such astonishing Interpositions of his Providence, as must serve to prepare the minds of those that read them with that unprejudiced humility and discreet confidence, which are expedient for the reception of the Prophecies, to satisfy the understandings of men, not only that *he is faithful that hath promised‡*, but that *what he hath spoken he is able to perform§*.

* So the ancient Talmudists in Bava-bathra place it with the Psalms, Proverbs, &c., but other Talmudical Writers in Megilla, c. ii. place Daniel with Zechary, Haggai, and other prophets. It is uncertain what the Jews precisely meant by the words Chethubim and Hagiographa, or when they were first introduced. The distribution of the Sacred Books into three classes seems to have been taken from the subjects contained in the books themselves, and not from the sacred authority of them; the Law and the Prophets and the rest of the Books, is a language of the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus. Our Saviour at Luke xxiv. 44. speaks of all things that were written in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms concerning him. Yet there are Prophecies in the Psalms as well as in other Books. And perhaps no distinct or sufficient reason can be assigned, why Daniel should be excluded from the prophetical rank, which he is known to have held when Aquila and Theodotion translated their Versions, or in the early ages of Christianity. For a full account of the arrangement of the Canon of Scripture, see Prid. Conn. p. i. b. 5. §. 2. Kennicott's Diss. Gen. p. 14. and some of the preceding Notes.

† Lowth, Præl. xxi.

‡ Heb. x. 23.

§ Rom. iv. 21.

This History of Daniel comprehends the full period of the Captivity of the Jews, and includes in it the reigns of four very considerable Monarchs, all of whom, though mostly from different countries, presided over Babylon. The first of these was Nebuchadnezzar, who began his reign about * the commencement of the Captivity, and whose History is continued through the four first Chapters. Belshazzar, his Grandson, furnishes the story of the fifth, and Darius the Mede that of the sixth. Cyrus the Persian is mentioned several times in the book, in the third year of whose reign the Prophet saw the Vision to which the three last Chapters relate; as that of the ninth Chapter happened in the reign of Darius, and the two preceding ones in that of Belshazzar. The periods allotted to these several Kings involve in them a great variety of curious and interesting matter, respecting the Jews as well as their own people, which must be especially useful to enable us to understand rightly the several Visions of this Book, as well as the History with which they are so essentially connected. Continual allusions are made to the respective manners and customs of the different nations; continual references to the characters, tempers, and habits of the different monarchs. The necessary connection of the sacred with profane history, and the illustration which they do, and ought mutually to afford each other, are obvious; and the Advocate for Scripture must endeavour to reconcile the part which he undertakes to explain with the History of those Theatres whereupon the transactions were performed, in order to silence the objections of the Infidel. Of the person of Nebuchadnezzar there is no doubt; and Belshazzar is generally esteemed the Nabonnedus of Berosus, or the Nabonadius of Ptolemy: What therefore may be necessary to be spoken of these Kings we shall refer to those parts of the following work which more properly

* See Jerem. xxv. 1.

belong to them. But the learned have been much divided in their opinions concerning Darius the Mede: It will not therefore be improper to enter now into a particular discussion of that inquiry, which at the same time will occasion sufficient Notice of the Person and Character of Cyrus.

INDEED the difficulty of determining the person of Darius has involved the history of Cyrus also in apparent difficulties in the minds of some, and the seeming repugnancy of the account and time of this King's reign to the Canon usually called Ptolemy's, has occasioned a real embarrassment in the minds of most men. Before we attempt to examine the Chronology, it may be proper to attend to the argument from authority, and inquire what assistance can be obtained from contemporary Authors, in order to fix the person to whom this account of Daniel will agree. Now Writers of almost every age have been consulted, and their observations thrown together for this purpose; but the two principal ones, whose works are still extant, and indeed whence almost all the others have borrowed or copied, are Herodotus and Xenophon; the latter of whom has been esteemed of less authority than the former, as his work in many respects has the appearance of a Romance. It would doubtless be a desirable thing to have most or all the different authorities placed together, and also the arguments for the weight of each at one view, as from such a collected arrangement we might be able to form the most competent judgment, and arrive at the most certain conclusions on this difficult point. And I am happy to be able to produce such a Collection from the Labours of that great and good man, the late Dr. THOMAS SECKER, Archbishop of Canterbury; a Name which must be classed in the highest rank of literary eminence and real merit, to whose rare virtues I had the honour to be a witness, near the close of his Life, whilst I served him as his domestic Chaplain, and of whose indefatigable industry and unaffected piety during a long

life I have had the most copious and unequivocal proofs since *. This learned Prelate has collected from Vignoles† and others, the various accounts of the several Writers, who have afforded any light upon this interesting subject, has often appreciated the authority of each, and interspersed with great liberality of mind several observations of his own. I shall beg leave to offer the following Result of his Inquiries taken from the first Vol. of his MS. Notes on Daniel, nearly in his own words.

“According to Herodotus‡, Cambyses the father of Cyrus was a private person of a good family, who had Cyrus by Mandane, when Astyages her father was old and had no son. Astyages ordered him to be put to death, and was deceived by Harpagus, whose story is known. Cyrus in due time having been informed of this, made war against Astyages and overcame him; afterwards took Babylon, and at last was killed by Tomyris, who cut off his head, &c. Diodorus says she crucified him.

“According to Xenophon, Astyages had a son, Cyaxares, older than Cyrus; and Cyrus never rebelled against Astyages, and died in peace.

“According to Ctesias, Cyrus was not a-kin to Astyages, he overcame him, and gave him a government, married his daughter a widow, and died of a wound he received in the country of the Derbices near Hyrcania.

John Malala from a piece falsely ascribed to Pythagoras saith, he was killed in a sea fight against the Samians. However this were, it is affirmed by many Ancients, and I think denied by none, that he was buried at Pasargada.—

* For a just and impartial character of this truly orthodox Example of primitive Episcopacy, see the Review of his Life prefixed to the first Vol. of his Posthumous Sermons.

† Chronologio Sacre.

‡ Bishop Chandler has observed that Herodotus, lib. i. professes to write according to what some of the Persians had recorded, who did not carry the story of Cyrus beyond the appearance of truth, knowing that there were then extant *three other accounts of Cyrus*; and that speaking of his death he says, of many reports he preferred that which in his judgment had the best air of probability.

Justin in the main follows Herodotus, though with some differences, and agrees with Ctesias, that Cyrus gave Astyages the government of Hyrcania. Diodorus who commonly follows Ctesias agrees with Herodotus and Xenophon about the descent of Cyrus. Seneca mentions the story of Harpagus: Plutarch is zealous against the character of Ctesias; Stephens defends it.

“Xenophon intended his *Cyropædia* in opposition to Plato’s Republic; Plato perceived it and saith, that Cyrus had not the advantage *παιδειας ορθης*, and Diogenes Laertius, l. iii. makes Plato de Leg. say, that the *Cyropædia* is *πλασμα*. Cicero saith, Xenophon’s Cyrus was written, non ad historiarum fidem, sed ad effigiem justî Imperii. Diony. Halic. saith, it is *εικων βασιλεως αγαθου και ευδαιμονος*. Hermogenes saith, the story of Abradatas and Panthea is *μυθικως πλασθεν*. Ausonius calls the book, *votum potius quam historiam*. Josephus is the first, who hath supposed it a true history, which he hath done without naming it; only by saying, that Darius was the son of Astyages, and had another name *παρα τοις Ελληνιν*. Jerom and Bede followed him, and the Learned of the sixteenth century followed them. But Erasmus, Ludov Vives, J. G. Vossius, Scaliger, Calvisius, Simson, took it for a Romance. Usher treats it as a History, and is followed by Pezron, Charpentier, Bossuet, Prideaux, &c. They insist it agrees best with Scripture, which though it may be thought no credit to Scripture, that it should agree best with what Antiquity took for a Romance, yet it is not any discredit, as Scripture cannot be imagined to have been taken from this Romance: But Scripture agrees well with the other accounts. Traguier’s Diss. shows it was Xenophon’s design to introduce his maxims of war, policy, morals; He also introduces conversations and repartees, such as he could not have any real information of: And Prideaux owns it, but still insists on the main facts. But it appears otherwise: He names scarce any places but Babylon; only mentioning Susa and Ecbatane at the end of Cyrus’s life:

He names not Euphrates, nor hints at any other river : He names not the King of Assyria, who is killed in the battle according to Xenophon, but by a conspiracy, as all other Authors ancient and modern hold ; nor his Son and Successor, who is killed in taking Babylon : yet these were real persons, and why should he not have named them if he knew their names ? whereas he doth relate different things about them from what other Authors have related ;—Nor the King of Armenia, though he names his two sons, nor even the daughter of Cyaxares that married Cyrus. Yet he affects to name much less considerable Princes and Persons of his own invention. He names Cyaxares, whom Vignoles and others think no real person ; and why might he not as well have named his daughter, or even the King of the Armenians ? His Abradatas could not be as he makes him king of Susiana, and of the Assyrian side ; for it appears by Strabo, that Susiana belonged to the Medes. He distinguishes no years ; and it looks like one campaign till that of the siege of Babylon : Yet in the history of the younger Cyrus nobody is more exact in particulars. The Author of Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks explained observes, Part ii. p. 41, that he "gives some of his imaginary persons Greek names ; but he had observed, p. 30, from Plato, that the Greeks were fond of doing this even in real persons when there was any affinity.

" Besides, Xenophon elsewhere owns that the Persians took the empire by war from the Medes * : From whence it should seem to follow, that he did not aim at historical Truth in the *Cyropædia*. As he must have known the history of Herodotus, it is much he should neither have followed, nor intimated that he did not follow him. But this is a good deal stranger, if he meant his book to be taken for a reality, than if he designed it for a fiction †. Isocrates contemporary with Xenophon, and I believe older,

* The Archbishop here alludes to places mentioned in his Notes at Chap. ii. p. 39.

† See Vignoles, p. 560.

saith, that Cyrus overcame the Medes with a Persian army, and translated the dominion to the latter, and put his mother's father to death. Euag. p. 86, 87, Ed. Batti. Wolfius in his Note saith, that Isocrates affirms this as an orator, *παρ' ιστοριαν*. By what Cicero cites from Dionysius or rather Dino, who wrote a Persian History soon after Ctesias, Cyrus was forty when he began to reign, and reigned thirty years. Now we have no account that Astyages was married till just before he was King; and Herodotus saith, he had Mandane Cyrus's mother after he was King; and he reigned but thirty-five years. Besides according to Herodotus he was *γερων* when Cyrus was born, and yet lived to fight Cyrus forty years after. Some pretend therefore that the number forty should be twenty: But it is not likely a private person of twenty should have credit enough to engage the Persians to rebel under his conduct: Nor on the other hand is it likely that an old man of seventy should propose a match to the Queen of Scythia, and make war in person on her refusal. Ctesias writing at the Court of Persia must know if Cyrus was Grandson of Astyages, and would scarce have denied it.

“All old Historians and Chronologers make Cyrus King of Persia: And all that enter into particulars make him so before he overcame Croesus, and some before he overcame Astyages. Xenophon in the younger Cyrus must mean the elder Cyrus by the King of Persia who dissolved the empire of the Medes. But in the Cyropædia Cambyses was living till after Cyrus had taken Babylon. Herodotus ascribes to him twenty-nine years' reign: Sulp. Sev. thirty-one, but all other Ancients thirty. He must have overcome Astyages in his tenth year; whether he overcame Croesus, or took Babylon first, is not so certain. But all Authors, so far as I find, place both these things after his victory over Astyages. Cyrus is called by Queen Tomyris, King of the Medes. Isaiah mentions not Persia, but Media and Elam in the siege of Babylon. Jeremiah mentions no

name of Persia; but he mentions the Kings of the Medes, Chap. li. 11, 28, Perhaps it should be King. Ezekiel, however, mentions Persia, Chap. xxvii. 10, in speaking of the siege of Tyre. Thucydides calls the Persians Medes almost constantly. Vignoles, p. 557, thinks, if two Kings are meant by Jeremiah, Cyrus and Astyages are meant; which last even according to Ctesias was always honoured by Cyrus as his father. There might also have been petty kings, such as Jeremiah, Chap. xxv, reckons several in a state; where, verse 25, he mentions all the Kings of the Medes and all the Kings of Elam: Only if these were subject to one great King, it is much that he had not mentioned him.

“But if Astyages was one of the Median Kings that besieged Babylon, why may not Astyages be Darius* the Mede? The history of Bel saith, Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom: which appears by what follows to be the kingdom of Babylon. Ctesias and Justin indeed dispose of Astyages otherwise, by giving him a government in Hyrcania.

“As Cyrus is called in Scripture the Shepherd and Anointed of God, who should accomplish his pleasure; so Nebuchadnezzar is called God’s Servant whom he had sent.

* That Astyages could not be Darius the successor of Nabonadius is evident from this one consideration of his age, for he is said by Herodotus (see before, p. xxi.) to have been an old man when Cyrus was born; but Darius was only sixty-two years old at the capture of Babylon. Dan. v. 31, and Cyrus was probably not much short of that age at the same time, as it happened certainly not more than nine years before his death according to the Canon, and he is thought to have reached the age of seventy. But Mr. Jackson thinks, see Chron. Vol. I., that Astyages succeeded to the kingdom of Babylon before Nabonadius, and that we should place the reign of Darius the Mede before the seventeen years of this last Monarch, whom he considers as a subordinate Ruler appointed by Astyages. And in order to obviate another difficulty which will here of necessity arise, he will have Laborosoarchod to be Belshazzar, who he thinks was destroyed, not at the final taking of Babylon by Cyrus, but when it was taken before by Astyages. But there are many objections to this opinion, of which I shall mention only one, which appears to me to be insuperable: And this is, that Daniel had the Vision of Chapter viii. in the third year of Belshazzar; whereas Laborosoarchod reigned not one whole year, as Mr. Jackson allows; and the proposal of an alteration in the original text both at the seventh and eighth Chapters, and the substitution of Darius the Mede for Belshazzar in both places, is too arbitrary to be allowed on the authority only of the Paschal Chronicle. See also on Chapter v. 26.

“Josephus and the first Christians all thought the Captivity ended the first year Cyrus was King of Persia, whereas he then had not Babylon in his power. The Rabbins thought it was in the first year of his reign at Babylon, but that he reigned only three there, since the Scripture names no more; and Scaliger and Calvisius thought the same; But the Canon, which they knew, should have taught them that he reigned nine years over Babylon.

“Josephus saith, Cyrus knew Isaiah’s Prophecy concerning him, and certainly Daniel had opportunities of showing it to him; at least he saith in his edict, that God had commanded him to build the Temple: So that he must have known it then.”

It would be in vain perhaps to attempt to reconcile all the various accounts of Writers on this subject. There might have been many Princes of the name of Cyrus*: We know of two, one of which died in battle, and the other probably in peace. The different accounts of these different Princes might have been improperly applied to each, and have thereby occasioned sundry errors, which it must now be impossible entirely to rectify. However the two leading accounts that affect the subject on which we are now engaged are those of Herodotus and Xenophon; and it must be confessed that from the authorities collected by the Archbishop, the weight of the argument evidently lies against the *Cyropædia*.

But still there are many circumstances of importance that may be thrown in the opposite scale, and which may contribute in this instance to shake the faith of Herodotus: Such are the general belief that Cyrus was buried in Pasargada †, in Persia, and therefore could not have been

* Bishop Lowth speaking of the Cyrus of Herodotus says, “he was a very different Character from that of the Cyrus of the Scriptures and Xenophon.” *Isa. Notes*, p. 86.

† *Pasargadas castellum, in quo Cyri sepulchrum est.* *Plin. Nat. Hist.* p. 100.

killed in Scythia by Tomyris; that however Xenophon may be conceived as drawing a Character beyond the Life, yet his whole life, education, and conduct, must convince us that he would not knowingly and intentionally relate direct falsehoods; that Herodotus probably in the course of his travels took many things upon trust, according to general rumour, preferring the opinions that appeared to him the most probable*; and that although both were Greeks, the one an Athenian, and the other born at Halicarnassus, in Caria, yet Xenophon who had resided in Persia had probably far better opportunities of information in Persic History than the other; and many of the embellishments of Xenophon seem to have been founded upon real facts, and all have Truth and Morality for their Design or End; and that he who should amplify and adorn Truth for the sake of advancing and improving Philosophy, could never mean so far to disparage it as to shake and overturn the faith of History; that in his account of the younger Cyrus Xenophon is the historian of his own times, relates events,

quæque ipse miserrima vidit,
Et quorum pars magna fuit, ÆN. ii.

and therefore his narrative must be more exact and circumstantial than the history of foreign facts and characters near a century and a half before†. To this may be added, that Jerom not only asserts that the Cyaxares of Xeno-

* See the Note at p. xviii.

† There is a very sensible and judicious Essay on this subject in the *Memoires de Literature de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, à Paris 1729. tom. vi. p. 400, by the Abbé Banier, from which I have extracted the following Remarks.—Je ne crois pas d'abord que Xenophon n'ait eu d'autres vûes que d'écrire l'histoire de Cyrus. Philosophe, comme il étoit, aussi bien que grand capitaine, il conçut un plus grand dessein. Il voulut apprendre aux Princes de son temps et à la posterité l'art de regner, et de se faire aimer malgré l'autorité souveraine. La morale et la politique de Socrate lui parurent propres à exécuter son dessein, et il chercha à en placer les preceptes dans un corps d'histoire. C'est le sentiment d'Aulu-gelle, qui dit que ce Philosophe ayant lu les deux premiers livres de la République de Platon, qui parurent avant que l'ouvrage fût achevé, travailla à sa Cyropédie; opposant ainsi la Monarchie à l'Etat republicain.—Ce

phon was Darius the Mede, but confirms his opinion by the authority of Josephus, Trogus, Pompeius *, and other Historians ; so that it appears to have been the generally received opinion in his time, and probably was so in that of Josephus, not more than five or six hundred years after Cyrus †. Besides, the story that Herodotus relates of Harpagus in all its circumstances, and especially in the feast of his son served up to him by order of Astyages, when the parent suppressed every sort of resentment till a convenient opportunity ; and what the same historian relates of Cyrus's childish revenge on the river Gyndes, with some other tales in the same first book have very much the appearance of fictions ‡.

Some circumstances however both Writers agree in, as that Babylon was taken by an army of Medes and Persians, and this by surprise in the night after a day of mirth and revelling, that Cyrus was the son of Cambyses a Persian and Mandane the daughter of Astyages King of the Medes, that he conquered Cræsus King of Lydia with all his auxiliary forces, and thereby very much enlarged the Persian empire, that he added to it also that of the Medes, after the defeat of Astyages according to Herodotus, but according to Xenophon not till after he had in union

dessein ainsi formé, Xenophon chercha dans l'histoire des modelles qui pussent en faciliter l'exécution, et n'ayant point trouvé dans l'Antiquité de Prince plus accompli que Cyrus, et dans son siècle de Roi plus modéré qu'Agésilas, il entreprit d'écrire leur histoire, avec la liberté d'y faire entrer toutes les réflexions, qui pouvoient le conduire à son but. J'ajoute ces dernières paroles, parce que je ne crois pas malgré toutes les maximes qu'on trouve dans ces ouvrages, que le fond de l'histoire en soit altéré.

* This Historian compiled from the Greek Writers a voluminous History of the World, which Justin abridged.

† *Ecquis unquam veterum, ait Scaliger, fecit hujus Darii mentionem præter Daniele?* *Æschylus ipse quem appellat, emendatque in Persis,*

Μηδός γάρ ην ὁ πρῶτος ηγεμὼν στρατοῦ.

Medus nam fuit primus Dux exercitus.

Cod. Chis. Note on Chap. ix. 1.

‡ Apud Herodotum patrem historię sunt innumerabiles fabulę. Cic. i. de Leg. Certainement s'il y a quelque chose dans Herodote qui doit être mis au rang de ces fables dont Cicéron dit que cet auteur est rempli, c'est une narration si confuse et si bizarre. L'Abbé Banier, ubi supra.

with the Medes conquered Babylon, subdued the remains of the Assyrian empire, and placed his uncle Cyaxares over the united territories of Media and Babylon; after whose death he reigned himself over the whole under the name of the Persian Empire, which reached from India to Ethiopia, and contained all that vast tract of country which is extended east and west from the river Indus to the Mediterranean, and north and south from the Caspian Sea to the Pacific Ocean, from India to Ethiopia, one hundred and twenty-seven * Provinces.

I would also observe farther, that if Xenophon's account of Cyrus be in general admitted, we cannot be at a loss to determine who was Darius the Mede; and if even the defeat of Astyages be received according to Herodotus, and it be placed in the tenth year of Cyrus's reign over Persia Proper, yet there seems no necessity to conclude but that the kingdom of Media might still with the consent of Cyrus be continued to Cyaxares his mother's brother, who might retain it till his death, after the conquest of Babylon, which Herodotus attributes to Cyrus after he had reduced the neighbouring powers.

Upon the whole, that Cyrus was a wise and virtuous Prince there are abundant testimonies in all the Historians, and as to the general tenour of his life and character there is a manifest coincidence between sacred and profane History: If in a few other respects some variations should occur not easily reconcilable, we must attribute it to the great distance of time, the loss of some, and the uncertainty of other, ancient Records; and have much more reason to admire that the scriptural accounts receive such evident Illustrations from ancient Writings, than to object because we cannot altogether ascertain the completest agreement in all respects †.

* Est. i. 1.

† Those who would wish for farther information on this matter may consult Herodotus lib. i. Xenophon's *Cyropædia* passim, Usher's *Annals*, p. 80, 81, &c. Prideaux's *Conn.* p. i. b. 2. 3. *Ant. Univ. Hist.* Vol. v. which relates the

But before we take our leave of this subject, we must endeavour to obviate one or two Chronological Difficulties; which although they may have been hinted at already, will deserve a more particular attention, as they have been often considered as weighty objections to Xenophon's account. The name of Darius is omitted in the Canon, although he is allowed to have reigned more than one year, if he reigned at all. How shall we then reconcile his History with the Canon? and Where or in what part must this reign be placed? The same answer will serve for both inquiries: The Canon certainly allots nine years' reign to Cyrus over Babylon, of which space the two former years are usually allowed to coincide with the reign of Cyaxares or Darius the Mede by the advocates of Xenophon. Now, as Archbishop Secker has well observed in another part of his MS. Vol. I. "So short a reign as this of Darius, whilst Cyrus was extending his conquests, might well be neglected by the Greek Historians, or perhaps unknown to them: And Berosus might have slighted it as a short-lived nominal reign;" which considerations may fairly account for the silence of the Canon. Some * indeed are inclined to think that Cyrus himself was this Darius; and it must be acknowledged that the name of Darius seems to have been a common name for several of the succeeding Persian monarchs, as also that at Daniel xi. 1. the first year of Darius the Mede is by LXX translated the first year of Cyrus; but if we allow that LXX might have found Cyrus in their original; yet as we have just

Histories of Media and Persia, and the Reflections of the Abbé Banier in the Parisian Memoirs already cited in the Note, p. xxiv. and other Essays in the same Collection.

* This seems to be the opinion of the learned Author of Critical Observations on Books (No. 3.) who treating the Cyropædia altogether as a Romance, explodes the idea of making a supposititious Cyaxares to agree with Darius; but still this Gentleman places the first of Cyrus after the capture of Babylon in the third year of his reign according to the Canon, or in the year 536 before Christ, and will have the two former years be given to Cyrus's reign as a kind of nominal King over Babylon. I must confess this mode of reconciling the matter appears to me to be attended with no less difficulty, to say the least of it, than that which is collected from Xenophon.

stated, that the first year of Cyrus according to the Canon is the first of Darius in the usual computation, the terms may thus be considered as coincident, and therefore nothing decisive can from hence be alleged on either side; and though the name of Darius was common to many Persians, yet this is no objection but it might have been given to the Mede we are now speaking of. Beside such particular accounts are recorded of this Prince in Daniel, and he is in one place (Chap. vi, 28.) mentioned together with Cyrus as having been both favourers of this Prophet, and consequently must have been distinct persons, and moreover is expressly said to have been *of the seed of the Medes*, Chap. ix. 1, which so low as at the expiration of the captivity does not in general seem to have comprehended the Persians*, which are considered by Daniel at least as two distinct nations; that all these united considerations must strongly militate against, if not sufficiently refute, the opinion of those who think Cyrus himself was the King here meant by Darius.

From the close of the fifth Chapter of Daniel we may conclude, that Darius the Mede did not begin his reign till after the capture of Babylon: And this event I am inclined to place in the next year after the 17th of Nabonadius, in the 210th year of the Chaldean Æra, or 538 years before Christ, which was the first of Cyrus's nine years. Whether the defeat of Nabonadius and the taking of the city happened near the same † time I need not determine; but it

* I believe the Exceptions to this Observation are but few among the Historians; the Poets indeed allow themselves a greater licence for obvious Reasons, and hence that expression of Horace, b. 1. Ode ii. *Nec sinas Medos equitare inultos*; which is supposed to comprehend the Medes, Persians, and Parthians, but perhaps chiefly to mean the latter, with whom the Romans had tedious wars long after the Medo-Persic empire ceased.

† Josephus says, Ant. x. xi. 4. that *not long after* Daniel had explained the writing, *μετ' ου πολυν χρονον*, the King and the city were taken by Cyrus's army: So that there might have been possibly an intermediate engagement in which Nabonadius was defeated. But the language of Daniel, Chap. v. 30, seems scarce capable of being so rendered as to admit of this interval; the defeat therefore more probably happened sooner, perhaps the year before.

seems clear from Daniel * as well as from Xenophon, that the King was slain on the same night that the city was taken; and this I apprehend must have happened about the real year of the captivity 67, supposing the 4th of Jehoiakim to agree with the year 605 before Christ, according to Blair; but of this more hereafter †. Now all agree, as far as I have seen, that the year of the Expiration of the Captivity, or the year that Cyrus issued his decree in favour of the Jews, was the year 212 of the Æra of Nabonassar, or 536 before Christ; and there is no doubt but Darius the Mede, whoever he was, reigned according to Daniel from the capture of Babylon till this same first year of Cyrus, or till the commencement of the reign allotted by Scripture to Cyrus the Persian. And to ascertain the person of this Darius, who we have seen could not be Cyrus, a learned and elegant Greek writer has mentioned a person, without any knowledge of our history, that in every respect seems to answer to the character and circumstances of this Prince, and who as a sort of deputed ‡ King presided over the affairs of Babylon for about the term above assigned, and probably not longer; and therefore the conclusion is natural, if not necessary, that however this Writer may have occasionally introduced fictitious embellishments into his work, yet this fact at least is highly credible, that his Cyaxares is a real character corresponding with Darius the Mede: because there is nothing that contradicts this account amongst the unimpeachable testimonies of Antiquity, because it is reconcileable with ancient computations as also with the silence of the Greeks, and finally because it agrees with and serves to illustrate the Scriptures §.

* Chap. v. 31.

† See Chap. i. 1.

‡ So Heb. דָּרְמֶלֶךְ, who was appointed to reign. Chap. ix. 1.

§ "Je ne veux pas faire ici l'apologie de Xenophon, aux dépens des autres Historiens de la vie de Cyrus, mais je pretends faire voir que ce qu'il en a écrit est raisonnable et naturel, plus suivi et plus complet, et beaucoup plus conformé à l'Ecriture sainte, que ce qu'en racontent Herodote et Ctesias, et que par tous ces caractères son histoire doit l'emporter sur celle des autres Auteurs qui ont traité le même sujet." See the above Memoir, p. 406. The Author illustrates what he here promises in the subsequent part of it. And I must add farther, that another

HAVING discoursed thus far on the Language and Matter of this Book, I must now make a few Observations on the style of it; which is a point I am rather willing to discuss, because it may assist farther in removing the prejudice often conceived and urged against the sameness of the Author, from the difference of the language as well as the subject of his Book. And here let it be premised, that though the Hebrew and Chaldee Languages may be considered as similar, yet they are by no means such in that degree which might be expected from two Eastern Languages, of so early antiquity, used in countries so near each other, and whose variations may have been esteemed the effects of changes in the habits, manners, or modes of speaking of the different inhabitants, rather than founded in any essential discrimination or original distinction. I mean not to advert to the characters of the two Languages, but to their Construction or rather Idiom; which in the Hebrew is simple, easy, and natural, in the Chaldee much more complex, involved, and pleonastic: The latter especially abounds in indeclinable words or particles, some of which have a variety of senses according to the different situations in which they occur, and others are crowded together to express nothing more than what in ordinary use might be denoted by a single word: The inflexion of its nouns and verbs varies much from the Hebrew, and their signification has often a much greater latitude. Indeed so great is the difference* that an attentive observer may soon be convinced of the justice of that Prediction of Jeremiah, Chap. v. 15, that God would bring against the Jews, "*a nation whose language they should not understand,*" when this nation was the Assyrian or Chaldee.

To this it may be proper to add, that the Style of His-

judicious Memoir may be found in the same Collection, tom. vii. p. 413, &c. by M. Freret, in which among other interesting particulars many just and accurate dates are assigned to the Life and Transactions of Cyrus.

* Other Peculiarities in the Chaldee will be noted hereafter.

tory must be very materially different from that of Prophecy: The one being a mere narration of past transactions is intended chiefly to inform the understanding, and must be confined to the limits of unmixed truth; the other is within the compass of truth, but is calculated to awaken and affect the imagination by the prospect of things that as yet have no existence, and which strike the mind as forcibly as the objects of a creative fancy, or the fictitious machinery or other ornaments of Poetry.—Now from these considerations it is evident that there must be a diversity of style in the different parts of this Book; and all I would attempt to illustrate is, that where the circumstances will admit, the same marks of uniformity often occur, which might reasonably be expected from dissimilar productions of the same Author.

In general then the words of Daniel are proper, well-chosen, and comprehensive; his diction simple and chaste, yet often strong and nervous; and his whole style is compact, concise, and close, but pure and regular. He seems more anxious about the matter than the manner of his work; and the peculiar circumstances of his situation may furnish one strong reason among others, why he should affect a laconic brevity in his language, and that his words should be few. Not but that he is sometimes diffusive and copious, enlarges an idea, and swells an image to an uncommon pitch of grandeur; for the truth of which I would refer to the description of the Tree in the fourth Chapter,* and to that of the Angel at the fifth and sixth verses of Chapter the tenth. There are also instances of such repetitions as were common amongst the Writers in whose age he lived; in which his fellow-captive Ezekiel very much abounds, and in which respect among others he is thought to resemble his contem-

* Almost the whole of this Chapter is judged by some to be poetical: the Description of the Angel may be presumed to be real, but whether the circumstances are real or fictitious, if the assemblage is grand, the magnificence is equally admirable.

porary Homer *. In the historical part of Daniel these repetitions are frequent, and they are also to be sometimes found in the Prophetical, but in a form rather more indirect and disguised. The whole of his work has been judged by the learned Author of the *Prelections on the Hebrew Poetry* to be altogether prosaic †, and such in general must be its acknowledged character; though it sometimes rises in either part to Poetry of the first size and wonderful sublimity: At least it hath such characters of it, both in measure or rhythm, as well as in greatness and loftiness of sentiment, as is allowed to distinguish the Poetical Compositions of the other Prophets.

I shall beg leave to offer a few Instances of this Sublimity in different kinds, taken from both the Historical and Prophetical Parts, that hence may appear in each the same strong features of resemblance. At the beginning of the fourth Chapter the Acknowledgment of the Operations of the Almighty is expressed in a manner extremely simple, but at the same time full of dignity and natural elegance. The lines run into what Bishop Lowth calls the synonymous parallel, and the second part of the distich rises in the strength of its terms above the first:

How great are his signs ‡ !
 And his Wonders how mighty !
 His Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom,
 And his Dominion from generation to generation.

ver. 3.

At the seventh Chapter, the Prophet describes the

* Dr. Clarke vindicates these Repetitions in the following manner, "Suo in loco neque hæc ipsa repetitio arte caret, neque enumerationis simplicitatem in narrando dedecuit. Est enim hoc est eorum genere, quæ ideo simplicissime et sine ornatu dici convenit, ut raptim ac velut in transitu legendi percurrantur." Note on *Iliad* ii. l. 495.

† "Totum Danielis Librum e poeticorum censu excludo; Is quidam Parabolicis Imaginibus multum nititur; sed ut Propheta, per visiones et umbras allegoriarum, res et eventa significans, sine ullo styli Poetici colore." De *Sacra Poes. &c.* Præl. xx. p. 197.

‡ Chald. His signs how great !

Ancient of days with the retinue that attend him in the same sort of parallel, and the like strain of grandeur and sublimity ;

* His Raiment was white as snow,
And the Hair of his head like the pure wool ;
His Throne was flames of fire,
And his Wheels the ardent fire :
Thousand thousands ministred unto him,
And ten thousand ten thousands assisted before him.

And so again with the like majesty of sentiment and the same sort of rhythm is that passage at Chap. xii. ver. 3.

Those that have wisely instructed shall shine as the splendour
of the firmament,
And those that have made many righteous as the stars for ever
and ever.

In his Descriptions of the Deity, and in his Addresses either of Prayer or Praise to him, the language of Daniel has commonly a peculiar force and energy, that without the least appearance of pomp or design steals upon and strikes the mind with an unexpected lustre or pathos. This remark will be especially illustrated by the concluding part of the two following citations from him ; in the former of which the Author pours forth in admirable strains his gratitude to God for his signal mercies, in discovering to him the King's Dream and the Interpretation of it :

Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever,
For Wisdom and Power are his :
He also changeth the times and the seasons ;
He removeth Kings, and establisheth Kings ;
He giveth wisdom to the wise,
And knowledge to those that improve in understanding :
He revealeth things deep and secret,

* Eusebius speaking of this passage, intimates that the Prophet is *ανθροπινην την θεωριαν υπαγορευων*, by which he means, that he describes the Vision *ανθροποποιιδως*. Eccles. Hist. lib. i. c. 2.

He knoweth what is in the darkness,
For the light abideth with him.

Chap. ii. ver. 20, 21, 22.

This latter sentiment is beautifully enlarged and amplified by the Psalmist in the 139th Ps. ver. 11, 12.

Though I say, Surely the Darkness shall hide me,
Yet the Night shall be light about me *:
Even the Darkness will not darken from thee,
But the Night shall shine like the Day ;
The Darkness and the Light are alike †.

The other passage alluded to, in which are the like devout acknowledgments of the Power of the Almighty, and at the same time most affecting and pathetic also, is at the latter part of the Prayer in Chapter the ninth.

Harken, O our God ! to the prayer of thy servant,
and to his supplications,
And look propitious upon thy desolated sanctuary,
for the Lord's sake.
Incline, O my God, thine ear, and hear.
Open thine eyes, and look upon
The distresses of us and of the city which is called by
thy Name.
O Lord, hearken, O Lord, forgive, O Lord, attend and
execute,
Defer not, for thine own sake, O my God,
Since thy City and thy People are called by thy Name.

There is in the latter part of this passage such an ardent pathos, as is rarely to be met with in any composition of any sort. It is at the close of the Prayer ; where the Prophet seems to have summoned together all the forces and

* LXX has *εν τρυφῇ μου*, mistaking the Preposition with the Affix *י* for the Noun *יָד* *delicim*.

† Literally, So is the Darkness as is the Light ; but LXX seems to refer to the words night and day in the preceding line, " as is the darkness of the one, so is the light of the other," probably understanding the *ן* at the end of each word as an Affix.

powers of his mind ; and his conceptions being too large and big for utterance, break forth in single detached words, as the spontaneous overflowings of his heart, calling continually upon God to hear, forgive, execute, and hasten, from motives of the purest and warmest zeal, and the most real and affecting devotion.

Some of these and several other striking passages of Daniel I scarce know whether I must call poetry for this reason, because there may be nothing in them of the novelty of invention, the flights of fancy, or the more splendid decorations of fiction. Nor am I inclined to contend about words or the arbitrary meanings affixed thereunto ; though I fear that Poetry would be reduced to a narrow compass, if it could appear in no other but a novel or fictitious dress. Indeed wherever there is a beautiful assemblage of well-chosen ideas, adorned with just colouring and glowing yet natural ardour, and especially too if expressed in an artificial combination of regular terms or lines, I should esteem such composition of a superior style to mere prose, and to be of a cast truly sublime, if not always strictly poetical ; and with respect to the passage last cited, we may know how highly to estimate this from the general language of a very able Critic, who “ affirms with confidence, that nothing is so magnificent as a natural pathos finely applied, breathing out as it were from an enthusiastic animation and spirit, and giving words something like the force of inspiration *.”

On the Prose of Daniel many observations will be interspersed in the ensuing Notes : I would only observe here, that whether he relates past or future transactions, the same depth of thought manifested by a suitable cast of

* It is difficult to express the genuine sense of this fine passage in any other language : it is as follows, *Θαρσυν αφορισταιμην αν, ως ουδεν ουτως, ως το γενναϊον παθος ενθα χρη, μεγαληγορον εστι, ωσπερ υπο μανιας τινος και πνευματος ενθουσιαστικως εκπνεον, και οινει φαϊδαζον τους λογους.* See Pearce's Longinus, p. 40.

style pervades the whole. He felt strongly for the afflicted state of his country, and ardently wished the Restoration of the true Worship of God. The grand direction of his thoughts and of his actions looked toward Zion, toward the beloved city. Here he probably expected the Blessing of all Nations, the Redeemer of Israel, who should come to his Sanctuary at the time appointed. Influenced by these considerations he is little solicitous about words, or in what dress to clothe his conceptions. They flow from him naturally, and usually in the most simple and modified form, with no other ornaments than such as a great mind improved in every sort of literature must of necessity give them: However the grandeur of the matters which he relates, together with the importance of his Revelations, must amply supply any deficiency of force or elegance that may be conceived in his style or the manner of his narration.

In the Book of Psalms the 120th and fourteen that follow have this title prefixed to each, שיר המעלות, a Song of Degrees, or rather an Ode of Ascents, which however variously interpreted is thus translated by LXX, ὠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, And by Theodoret * they are all indiscriminately applied to the Delivery from Babylon. Whether they were all made on that occasion, or only applied to it afterwards, is uncertain; some of them however seem to have been composed with a view to the deliverance during the Captivity itself; and one or two I am almost inclined to attribute to Daniel; though I know of no authority to support this conjecture except some internal marks. Whoever will compare the Prayer at Chap. ninth, and especially the latter part of it, with Psalm 130th, will probably perceive many striking features of resemblance; such as the conciseness and simplicity of the expression, the earnest repetition of

* Δηλοῦσι μέντοι αἱ ἀναβᾶσεις, ἢ οἱ ἀναβαθμοί, τοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ λαοῦ τῆν ἀπὸ Βαβυλωνος ἐπανόδον. Theod. Ps. 20.

the same sentiment, the frequent invocation on the name of the Lord, the devout acknowledgment of the sins of the people, and the intire confidence in God's mercies. As the Psalm is short, I shall make no apology for offering it here in the following form, submitting to my Reader to make his own judgment concerning the Author of it, or to agree with mine.

Out of the depths have I called unto thee, Jehovah ;

Lord, hear my voice,

Let thine ears be attentive to the voice of my supplications.

Shouldst thou strictly watch iniquities Jehovah; Lord, who shall stand ?

Surely there is forgiveness with thee, therefore shalt thou be revered.

I wait for Jehovah, my soul waiteth, for on his word do I confide.

My soul is to the Lord more than the watchmen to the morning,
than the watchmen to the morning *.

Let Israel confide in Jehovah ;

For with Jehovah is mercy, and with him is plenteous
redemption :

So shall he redeem Israel from all his Iniquities †.

To the preceding strictures I will beg leave to add farther the sentiments of the celebrated Professor Eichhorn on this Book in the following Translation of them from the German.

“ An intire new World opens itself in the Book of Daniel. Whoever has arrived at the most familiar acquaintance with the other Prophets of the Old Testament, and has

* The allusion is probably to the Watch in the service of the Temple, which was kept in the night as well as the day, and the repetition may possibly allude to the alternate cry of the Watchman, and the person that answered him ; the watchword had always some reference to the Deity.

† I am aware that Bishop Patrick and others ascribe this Psalm to David, either after his criminal commerce with Bathsheba, or after an escape from the Persecution of Saul ; but many Interpreters fix it rather to the time of the Captivity ; and the first words seem to have a peculiar reference to the low and deep situation of Babylon compared with the lofty and eminent Hills of Jerusalem ; and perhaps the expression, *on his word do I confide*, together with the *plenteous redemption*, may incline us to suspect, it was composed soon after the Revelation at the end of the Prayer, Dan. Chap. 9th.

enabled himself by profound study to enter into their genius, style, and imagery, will find every thing strange here. Fruits will present themselves, which cannot have been the product of Palestine, but of a foreign soil.

“ It is plainly discoverable indeed from very many parts of this Book, that the Author of it was a native Hebrew, who had diligently perused the Records of his nation. I will not rest my proof of this assertion barely on those passages in which Moses and Jeremiah are expressly quoted (Dan. ix. 2, 11, 13.) He constantly recurs to their style and imagery, but imparts to them such colouring and shade as would not have been given by any Writer whose residence had been confined to the country of Palestine. Who, for example, can read the ninth Chapter of this Prophet without remarking the same train of ideas and the same modes of expression adopted by the ancient Hebrew Writers? The departure of the Jewish people out of Egypt was effected בִּיר חֻקָּה, agreeably to the language of Moses (Dan. ix. 15, compared with Exod. vi. 1, &c.) Daniel entreats God to be gracious by the phrase הֵאֵר פָּנִים which the ancient Jewish writers so frequently borrowed from the Pentateuch, (Dan. ix. 17, compared with Numb. vi. 25, &c.) He describes the stars as being צֶבֶא הַשָּׁמַיִם, the Host of Heaven, in conformity with Moses and the old Hebrew Writers, (Dan. viii. 10, compared with Gen. ii. 1). But agreeably to the custom of the Chaldeans, while each Star is made to be inhabited by a Guardian Angel, he calls the Almighty שֶׁר הַצֶּבֶא (Dan. viii. 11), and on the same account he assigns to each kingdom its peculiar protecting Angel, (Dan. x. 13, 19, &c.)

“ In no part of Scripture do we meet with so singular a prophetic division of time. Sometimes it is expressed by a time, two times, and half a time. Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7. sometimes by 2300 days, Chap. viii. 14, at others by 1270 *

* It is probably meant for 1290 days, but in both editions it is as here stated.

days, Chap. xii. 11, 12, and it is the opinion of all the best Commentators on the greater part of the above-mentioned passages, that the numbers are not to be taken in a limited sense. The origin of this Division of time may probably be traced to the Astronomical and Astrological Sciences, into which Daniel as a disciple of the Chaldean Philosophers had been initiated."

I have already given a few hints of my general design with respect to this Book of Daniel: and shall now proceed to a more particular delineation of my plan; though I mean not to enlarge very much upon it, as I have chiefly pursued the steps of others, who have marked out the path before.

IN the following Translation of this Book, I have endeavoured as nearly as possible to adhere to our present English Translation, so as very seldom to depart from it without a sufficient reason: At the same time what may be deemed inferior causes, such as the different order of the words or clauses in the original, and a flow of them more harmonious and more agreeable to the ear, have been often considered sufficient to justify such a departure*. In some cases expressions or phrases have been adopted not altogether in common use in our language, in order to give a more just and exact sense to the original†; but yet these expressions will be found justifiable by fair analogy, and custom may gradually render them familiar. Where the literal sense could be retained, it has commonly been preferred, but where it has been once varied, in similar cases the same variation has been observed‡. I have indeed generally endeavoured to make the Translation as literal as possible, consistently

* An improper disposition of words in a sentence is little less offensive to the eye and ear than confusion in the ornaments of a building, or disharmony in a piece of music; beside its being productive of obscurity, ambiguity, and even of a false meaning. Dr. Geddes's Letter to the late Bishop of London, p. 39.

† See an instance of this at Chap. vi. 12.

‡ Thus the word יד *hand*, is well known to signify *power*, &c., and this latter sense I have sometimes followed in the expression that so often occurs, *was given into his hand*, which however proper when applied to a man, seems very inapplicable to a beast.

with the turn and idiom of the languages, the style and spirit of the Author, the alterations of Customs, Manners, and Times: to most of which and the like circumstances I have purposed to pay due attention. An Uniformity of Design has been studiously carried into execution; but yet not so slavishly followed, as to suffer it to supersede perspicuity or natural ornament, which ought doubtless to be consulted in the first place. My grand intention throughout the whole Book has been, to give a just and faithful sense of the original, and, in order to do this, it has been often found necessary, especially in the Prophetical part, to make very considerable variations from our Translation now in use, which was my chief motive, though there were other subordinate ones, for offering to the Public what for distinction sake is called an improved one. It is not my design to offer any Observations on Translations of the Scriptures in general, as this business has already been executed with much skill and judgment*. Let me only add therefore, that I have endeavoured to avail myself of the remarks of others, though I have ventured to deviate from them in several instances; as it is almost impossible that general observations can apply in all respects to that great variety and unusual change of circumstances which is to be found in the compositions of the Sacred Writers.

WITH respect to the Commentary or Notes I must begin with most gratefully acknowledging the assistances I have received, before I proceed to explain any part of my own share. In the first place I consider myself greatly indebted

* The Bishop of Waterford in his Preface to the Minor Prophets has laid down a series of very judicious Rules on this subject; and the Rev. Dr. Geddes in his Prospectus and in his Letter above cited, has offered many sensible Remarks on the same subject, and proposed three useful Canons with respect to Hebraisms, that appear to be founded in Truth and Reason. p. 15. 16.

It is incumbent, says Bishop Lowth, on every Translator to study the manner of the Author; to mark the peculiarities of his style, to imitate his features, his air, his gesture, and as far as the difference of language will permit, even his voice; in a word, to give a just and expressive resemblance of the original. Dissert. on Isa. p. 35. See more on the same subject at p. 52.

to the Judgment and Industry of that most excellent Prelate Archbishop Secker, who has not only left to the Library at Lambeth his own Notes on the Prophets * in a Hebrew Bible, and also in an English interleaved one, but beside this has deposited there under the special care of his successor two small folio Volumes of MS. Notes on the nine first Chapters of Daniel, the latter of which Volumes, as well as a part of the former, is occupied in a large and extensive discussion of the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks. To these I have had ready access by the permission of his present very worthy Successor; and though I have borrowed very much from the former of them, which is in due place acknowledged, yet perhaps my readers may wish that I had given them more. To my late ingenious and very excellent friend Dr. Woide, of the British Museum, I am indebted for his collations of the Pachomian † MS. in the said Museum on the Book of Daniel; and he had begun to translate for me the Notes of Professor J. D. Michaelis on the said Book, of which I received only those on the first Chapter, his sudden and unexpected death happening soon after, to my great disappointment, and the very considerable loss of the learned world. I could have very much wished for all, or any, assistance that could have been obtained from the labours of that excellent Critic Michaelis; but scarce any thing more had fallen into my hands, till my work was nearly finished, when I met with his Supplement to his Hebrew Lexicon, lately published in four Volumes, of which I have availed myself much, and should probably have made farther and better use of it, if I had seen it sooner.

There was known to be a MS. copy of the Coptic Version of the Book of Daniel in the Royal Parisian Library,

* I say, the Prophets, but, if I mistake not, his Annotations are upon the whole Bible; his Hebrew Bible is the Quarto Edit. of H. Michaelis, printed at Halle, in 1720, to whose short Notes he often refers.

† From Pachomius, a Patriarch of Constantinople, to whom it once belonged.

and another in that of St. Germain de Prez. The late Dr. Woide had obtained a sight of these, and from his desire to promote the knowledge of Oriental Literature and the Scriptures in this country, had taken the pains to transcribe them. These Transcripts were lately purchased among his other Papers by the University of Oxford; and they have been revised and collated with the Vatican copy of the LXX at my particular request by my very learned friend Dr. Henry Ford, Principal of Magdalen-Hall in that University, and Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic. Several variations are pointed out; some of which it must be acknowledged agree with the Alex. MS. as it was probably from the assistance of that Version, that the Coptic was originally made. There are instances however in which the Coptic differs from it, and some improvements in the present Text, which had been suggested before the discovery of this Version, have received strength and support from it since. The Reader will find considerable use made of this Collation in the following Work; and to the same ingenious Professor I am likewise indebted for a Translation from the German of Professor Eichhorn's Sentiments on the Book of Daniel already given, and of those which gave occasion to the Remarks mentioned near the close of this Dissertation.

I have also received some Criticisms on the Hebrew Part of Daniel from my much-esteemed friend the Rev. Mr. Dimock, of Gloucester, which, with a few other communications, will be acknowledged in the Notes.

My own care has been in the first place to examine minutely the original Text; to compare it with the Versions in the London Polyglott, and such others as I met with occasionally; to observe the different reading of the MSS. as collated by Dr. Kennicott, and those additional ones, as well as editions, of Mr. De Rossi; and from a review of these several helps to endeavour to correct the

Text where it has the appearance of being faulty, and to offer in suspected places, and in others where I have scarce entertained any suspicion, the various Readings of the Versions, the Masora *, and the MSS., that the Reader may be enabled to form his own judgment on passages, in which he may be unwilling to confide in the judgment of others, in which he may suspect mistake, or conceive himself plausible improvements. In some few places likewise are suggested emendations founded on probable conjecture, but they are very rare, and indeed by a more attentive and accurate investigation passages, which have been somewhat suspected, have been commonly found reconcileable to a good sense and the general tenour of the Author's manner, although perhaps not altogether conformable to the rules of strict grammar, or quite exempt from every sort of anomaly.

Whilst this attention has been paid to the Text, a variety of Commentaries and Interpretations have been consulted; not only for the sake of a more perfect acquaintance with the general sense and scope of the Author, but for a more exact knowledge of the particular meanings of his Phrases, Idioms, and even words; his language has been compared with parallel passages, similar allusions, and correspondent sentiments in other parts of Scripture; and the profane history has been studied of the period coetaneous with his Book in the several nations to which it has a manifest reference. With this preparation and a desire to collect what I could from every suitable source of information, I trust I have been able to give the literal sense of the Book of Daniel, to explain his Meaning, vindicate his History, illustrate his Predictions, and offer his

* The Variations called Keri-Chethibs, noted at the bottom of some Bibles, are in general, and I believe justly, attributed to the Masoretes, a set of wretched Critics, as Bishop Lowth calls them, that probably lived near the eighth century; but as there have been opinions that have given a much earlier authority to these Variations, I have more usually called them by the name of Keri in the following Notes.

Work in such a form, as may convince the candid and impartial Inquirer, that he was one of “*those * holy Men of God that spoke as he was moved by the Holy Ghost.*”

I have in general attempted likewise to point out such excellencies both in the style and the matter as have occurred, and to illustrate them by similar passages borrowed from other Writers; and moreover to throw light upon the History and Manners alluded to, by parallel Customs, either ancient or modern † collected from the nations of the East, or countries peopled from thence. In explaining the Prophecies, and especially those of the last Vision, it was found expedient to give an epitome of the History of the several kingdoms to which the matters contained therein belong; which has generally been selected from the best and most authentic sources, not without a proper regard likewise to the Comments or Remarks which subsequent Compilers have with due judgment and discretion produced. A great number of books has been consulted for these purposes, and perhaps they might have been more profitably examined, had my situation admitted of it. Every one that has been engaged in a work of this sort must be sensible that it is difficult, after a considerable interval, to return to a train of thinking, that has been once set aside for want of a ready recourse to Authorities and References to elucidate, support, or establish it.

THE general connexion between History and Chronology, and their mutual dependence on each other is in all cases very obvious: but perhaps in settling the Historical

* 2 Pet. i. 21.

† I confess myself much indebted for an Illustration of several important circumstances in this Book to a late Publication, intitled, “*Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, by James Bruce, of Kinnaird, Esq.*” This learned and elaborate work has thrown great light on many parts and passages of the Old Testament, and perhaps no better method could be devised to illustrate the ancient Scripture History, than a careful survey and minute inspection into the customs and habits of those aboriginal nations, who retain the rude simplicity of Eastern manners, and are not yet polished by the softer arts of civilization and refinement.

parts of the Book of Daniel, the expediency of a due attention to chronological matters can in no respect be more apparent: And yet however expedient it may be, it must be a work of no small difficulty to explore the beginnings of a Science, and in its early state to ascertain the Truth. Scarce two centuries before the Babylonish Captivity, Chronology seems to have been very imperfect, as far as appears, reduced to no system, governed by no precise or accurate rules of calculation, nor dated from any fixed or certain *Æra* * of Commencement. Men of reflection indeed could not fail to have observed in the earliest times the periodical revolutions of the Sun and Moon, and to have compared them with each other. Hence by considering the annual period of the former, and endeavouring to bring it to some agreement with its own diurnal course, and the more frequent revolutions of the latter, they had readily found that twelve lunar revolutions were nearly equal to one solar; and this agreement had considerable attention paid to it, especially as the number was easy for dispatch in calculation, the consequent division of the year naturally and not very far from truth, and found to be productive of considerable advantages in common life. But although in some countries this lunar year was adopted and prevailed for a time, yet it soon proved very inconvenient from the annual error and loss of about eleven days, and therefore generally yielded to another mode, more ready for dispatch, and much nearer the truth. A method was hit upon of bringing the lunar periods, in themselves uncertain, to one fixed standard nearly agreeing therewith, so as only to vary about the half of a day, and this being in excess would advance so much nearer the Sun's true

* Some think the Jews reckoned from their Exit out of Egypt, others from earlier or later events; but the Author of their famous Epoch from the Creation of the World, as well as the time of its establishment, are unknown: and though Scaliger refers the origin of it to the time of the Seleucidæ, yet others are of opinion that it was not introduced till after the Babylonish Talmud: Petavius considers it as of later date, but Strancius refers it to the time of Hillel. b. iv. c. 2.

period. Thus the year or annual revolution of the Sun was divided into twelve equal parts, called months, as nearly agreeing with so many courses of the Moon*, and these courses were fixed at thirty days each, making in the whole 360 days; so that the error or loss was not more than about half as much as before.

This form of year prevailed almost universally for the purposes of computation in the early ages after the flood. The comparison of a few passages in the Book of Genesis with each other will serve to convince us, that it was in use in the time of Noah. The waters Chap. vii. 24, are said to have prevailed on the earth 150 days, and again, Chap. viii. 3, after the end of 150 days the waters were abated: Now 150 days are just five months of 30 days to each; and accordingly in the account of the flood we read at Chap. vii. 11, that it began in the second month on the 17th day of the month, and at Chap. viii. 4, that on the seventh month on the 17th day of the month the Ark rested on the mountains of Ararat. Thus there were exactly five months, or 150 days, from the notice that is taken of its commencement to that which is fixed for its period; and hence it is clear that the month consisted exactly of thirty days.

That there were only twelve months in the Jewish year is likewise plain from names being assigned to so many, and no more: and it is well known that when in order to supply the deficiency of days which this reckoning must every year occasion, an intercalary or embolismal month was added, it was not called by a new name, but by the name of the month nearest to it, or Ve-adar; which name was given, and the month occasionally introduced, by the direction of the great Sanhedrim, who regulated the time

* So *יָרֵחַ* in Hebrew signifies both Moon and Month; *μήνη* in Greek is from *μηνή* the Moon, and from the mensa spatia of this planet Cicero derives the Latin word *mensis*. De Nat. Deor. l. ii. Ut annus ad Solis, sic mensis ad Lunæ motus præcipue dirigitur. Beveridge's Inst. Chron. l. i. cap. 7, and at the beginning of the next chapter, Usus obtinuit, ut ex eorum tantum Planetarum, qui nobis majores videntur, Solis et Lunæ, motibus, annus mensuretur.

with a view to the moveable festivals. In like manner Sir John Marsham * hath made it appear that this was the mode of reckoning at the time when the Children of Israel came out of Egypt, and that it was observed likewise among the Egyptians themselves, for, as he says, “*nondum Ægyptii anno addiderant quinque Dies επαγομενας* † or the five additional days to complete the number of the real year. And Strauchius ‡ calls this the Egyptian Calendar, and says, it is very probable that the Israelites followed it.

In later times also we find the plainest footsteps of the same sort of calculation: for at 1 Kings, vii. 4, we read that Solomon had twelve Officers, who provided victuals for the King and his household, each man his month in the year: so that each had a proportionate district assigned him, without any regard to accidental variation; and in 1 Chron. xxvii. 1, we find twelve legions appointed of the Children of Israel, and a chief commander for each legion, to serve King David in the order of the courses, each for his month, throughout the twelve months of the year; there being only twelve captains named afterwards, and to each his month is allotted in regular succession, without any provision for an intercalary month, or any interruption of the computation from its ancient form. The house of Judah had the honour of providing a Captain for the first month, and as if a steady adherence was to be paid to the number twelve, each chief Captain presided over twice that number of thousands, or 24,000 men.

That this same sort of year prevailed in other countries has been evinced by several Writers on Chronology, and especially by Mr. Marshall in his Treatise on the Seventy

* P. 183, Fol. Ed.

† Bishop Beveridge tells us, that these were added at the end of the Nabonassar Year, but that the twelve months still consisted of thirty days each. See Inst. c. 10, and at the next Chapter that the modern Persian year called Yesde-gird, from the last King of Persia, who had that name, and who was slain by the Saracens, is of the same form with the Nabonassar Year.

‡ See B. 4, ch. 3, of Breviar. Chron. translated by Sault, third Ed. Lond.

Weeks*. I shall mention only a few instances, and those such as we are chiefly concerned with, namely Persia and Babylon, in both of which that it was commonly received we may perhaps be convinced from the following circumstances. Dr. Prideaux tells us (p. i. b. 4.) that after Darius Hystaspes had subdued India, and made it, according to Herodotus, the twentieth Prefecture of his Empire, he received from it an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the then *Persian* year, appointing a talent for each day. In the Book of Esther, Chap. i. 4, we learn that King Ahasuerus made a feast for all his Princes and Servants, the united powers of Persia and Media, when he continued to exhibit the opulence of the glory of his kingdom an hundred and eighty days. There seems no probable reason to be assigned why this number of days should be pitched upon, but that it was just six months† or half a year; and consequently the whole year was 360 days. Both these instances relating to the Persians are below the times of the Babylonish Captivity, and may serve to satisfy us therefore that this form of year was in use amongst that people, lower than the times of Daniel. With respect to the Babylonians, Ctesias observes of Semiramis, that she built the Wall of Babylon 360 furlongs in its circuit, that the number of furlongs might be equal to the number of days in the year. And though Diodorus‡ makes it 365 furlongs, yet Capellus and others have considered the word *πεντε* as superfluous. Herodotus, lib. v, shews that a journey of three months is a journey equivalent to ninety days at 150 furlongs a day, or 13,500 furlongs, the distance from Sardes to Susa; so that according to the Asiatic computation in his time the month consisted of thirty days.

* See Part. ii. c. 4, where most of the same arguments are urged which I have here selected, though in a different form. See also Jackson's Chron. Vol. II. where he shews that the Indians, Chinese, and Mexicans, reckon by the year of 360 days, as well as the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Scripture Writers.

† So Menochius in Pool's Synop. "Duravit sex mensibus;" and the same opinion is entertained by the Jews.

‡ Lib. II. 4.

Now this mode of reckoning being so generally prevalent, it is natural to conclude the Prophet Daniel would make use of it for his computations; for it was not only in use among his countrymen the Jews, but with those nations also where he was detained a captive, and especially by the great King from whom his fellow-captives had received their deliverance, and in whose reign he probably completed and compiled his Book.—But yet the Prophet, who was well skilled in all kinds of literature, was doubtless well versed in chronology, and therefore saw the inconvenience that might arise from calculations formed on different principles, or by a measure of time of an uncertain length. In order to avoid this, he seems to have given to his computation years the name of *Times*, or periods of calculation then in use, in which he was probably not singular *, instead of calling them by the name of שנים †, which more properly applied to the full annual revolutions of the Sun. At the same time as the word he has adopted is of a more general signification, lest it should be misapplied he seems to have explained it in one place, Chap. xi. 13, making the word שנים *Years* follow העתים *the Times*, thus limiting the sort of period to which it belonged. It was doubtless generally known in his age, and probably long before, that there was a considerable difference between years of computation and full solar years, which the intercalary month must sufficiently evince to the Jews; but he might foresee that in future ages this difference would more strongly appear; or rather the evidence would be

* In this sense Thucydides, who lived not long after Daniel, uses the word χρόνος in the following passage, lib. i. c. 30. του τε χρόνου τον πλειστον μετα την ναυμαχίαν επικρατου της θαλασσης, thus translated by Duker, Et post illud navale prælium maximâ ejus anni parte maris illius imperium obtinuerunt. For farther illustration of this matter see the Notes where the word occurs, especially at Chapters ix. xii.

† שנים anni, from שנה iterare, wherein the Sun reiterates his course, or returns to the same point from whence he set out, or, according to Buxtorf, in se sua per vestigia semper volvatur et redeat. So the Greek εναντος, from his revolving into himself; and hence the Egyptian Hieroglyphic of a Serpent with its Tail in its Mouth.

such as to introduce a method that would supersede computation years entirely; and as his Writings were intended for the benefit of distant Generations, the reason of his adopting the word *TIMES* is so highly convincing, that we are led from hence to admire the judgment of the Prophet, if not to acknowledge the Prescience of that all-wise Power from whose dictates he wrote.

I shall conclude these Chronological Remarks with an Argument deduced by the Authors of the *Encyclopedie* in favour of the authenticity of this Book. After having observed that the Canon of the Sacred Books was formed some ages before the reign of Antiochus, and that since that epoch the Jews have never added a single book, as appears from a constant tradition among them, according to Josephus against Apion, b. i. “ they add, there is one farther reflection to this purpose, which the Unbelievers will never be able to answer; According to the Astronomical Remarks of M. Cheseaux on Daniel, this Prophet must have either been one of the most ready Astronomers that ever existed, or have been divinely inspired, to be able to find out those perfect Cycles that he hath directed to. Wherefore this Book must have been written at a time when Astronomy was cultivated with great success among the Chaldeans; but under the reign of Antiochus there was not a single Jew, that was either an Astronomer or a Prophet *;” The Authors refer afterwards to Chap. xii. ver. 7, 11, and 12, for the astronomical Cycles to which they allude. Whatever merit there may be in the calculations, or in the arguments deduced from them, the reasons of these numbers will be attempted to be explained when we come to the passages themselves.

* Il y a de plus une reflexion à faire à laquelle les incrédules ne repondront jamais. Selon les remarques astronomiques de M. Cheseaux, sur le livre de Daniel, il faut ou que ce prophète ait été l'un des plus habiles Astronomes qui ait jamais existé, ou qu'il ait été divinement inspiré, pour trouver les cycles parfaits qu' il a indiqués. Donc ce livre a été écrit dans le tems que l'astronomie étoit cultivée avec le plus de succès chez les Chaldéens; sous le regne d' Antiochus, aucun Juif n'étoit ni Astronome ni Prophète.

IN the following Notes there is frequent mention of the Greek Interpreter; it may be recollected also that at the former part * of this Discourse an allusion was made to an early Translation of Daniel into Greek; as both these points may be elucidated together, I shall now advert to them, and the more readily as the inquiry may lead to some useful Remarks on the Greek Version called the Septuagint.

Whatever opinion the learned now seem to entertain of the Story or Fiction of the seventy-two Interpreters brought down from Judea into Egypt at a very large expence by Ptolemy Philadelphus, it is generally agreed that about the time of this King's reign the Jews of Alexandria found it necessary to translate the Scriptures into Greek. The Law of Moses or the Pentateuch was first entered upon and finished with great care and accuracy; and perhaps it was only this part, that was at first deposited in the royal Library. It appears however that this monarch was a very great lover of Books †, as well as a great encourager of learned men; and from hence it is probable, as well as from the expediency of the thing, that the rest of the Scriptures were soon after translated into the same language, though at different times, and by different persons. It is certain that the whole was translated before the Book of Ecclesiasticus was written, as appears from the Prologue to that Book, and this was above 130 years before Christ: But how long before this period is a point which is not easily ascertained. Isaac Vossius seems of opinion that the whole was completed before the end of the long ‡ reign of Philadelphus; and if the reason that he assigns for it from the account of Josephus § be true, that the King invited learned

* See page x.

† He had in his Library 500,000 Volumes, according to Josephus, in the early part of his reign. Ant. l. xii. c. 2.

‡ He reigned thirty-nine years.

§ Ant. l. xii. c. 2.

Jews continually into his kingdom, we might from hence and for the reasons above hinted be inclined to agree with him, and conclude that translated copies of each of the twenty-two or twenty-four books * according to the Jewish arrangement were placed in his Library.

The learned † Dr. Prideaux thinks a copy of the whole Bible, as soon as it was finished, was put in this Library, and there continued till that noble Repository of Learning was accidentally burnt in the wars of Julius Cæsar. And he observes, that it seems to have lain there in a very obscure manner, none of the Greek Authors now extant, nor any of the ancient Latin, having taken any notice of it. From hence it should seem that the access to it might not have been easy, and the following consideration may possibly incline us to think, it was not much sought after. For the Translation of the Law only at first was in public use, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath-day, till the use of it was interdicted a long time after in the time of the Persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes; and copies therefore being numerous of this might make the other parts less desired. The Hellenistic Jews, conforming to the customs of their brethren in Judea, after the above interdict, were willing to introduce the public Reading of the Prophets also: but as copies of the Original Translation were not easily to be procured, new or adulterated Translations might be hastily prepared, and, getting by degrees into general use, might obtain such an attachment to them, as religious manuals, however defective or faulty, have been found to gain, whenever sanctioned by public authority, and familiarised by inveterate usage. Learned men, I presume from internal marks, have fixed our present LXX Version of some of the prophets near the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; and perhaps the whole Version which we now have, so far as it regards the Prophetical Writings, will be placed

* Joseph. cont. Ap. l. i.

† Connex. p. ii. B. i.

for the same reason at *nearly* the same age. But still this argument from the internal evidence may go no farther than to prove that there are some marks of resemblance in particular phrases, idioms, or the like, between our present Copy and the Writings of those times, which may be deduced from interpolations or alterations only, and can scarce be sufficiently strong to overturn the opinion, that the greater part of the Version might have been translated more than half a century before.

That there was such an early authentic Translation deposited in the Alexandrian Library, not only the Alexandrian dialect of our present Version may countenance, but the story of the seventy-two Interpreters with all its concomitant and consequent circumstances, must seem to vouch. Many ancient Writers favour this opinion, and Tertullian and Chrysostom both mention such a copy; the latter of whom supposes it to have been preserved there till his time, (see Henry Valesius's Letter to Usher) and that very learned Primate last mentioned thinks there were two * Greek Versions, the one in the time of Philadelphus, the other in that of Ptolemy Physcon, and that the former was the Library Version that was burnt. From all these considerations I think the early Translation of the Bible into Greek may be of some weight in the argument for which it is above alleged; and all that I would mean to infer is, that if the whole was finished within a hundred years from its first reputed commencement, then it affords us a proof that the Book of Daniel was earlier than the time of Antiochus; and if the completion be placed in the reign of Philadelphus, then it will carry us within a few years of the full and final completion of the Canon under the Pontificate of Simon the Just.

* It is certain that there was a Greek Version in common use, called *κοινή*, or Vulgata, and distinct from the Version of the LXX found in the Hexapla, from which Jerom professes to have translated his Bible. See his Epistle to Sunnia and Fretela.

After all it must be acknowledged, that there is much uncertainty in this matter, and though what I have offered is the result of due reflection, and my best judgment, yet as the first object of all Disquisitions of this sort should be Truth, I would desire the Reader to lay no greater stress upon these arguments than they shall be found to deserve. Considerable light may be expected on this subject hereafter from the labours and disquisitions of an ingenious Gentleman *, who is engaged in the momentous work of collating the MSS. of the LXX Version. For it must be remembered that this Version, however valuable, is in many parts, and especially in the prophetical, defective and faulty : And the faults † were much greater in some of the Prophets than in others. Indeed in the Book of Daniel the defects were so great, that, as we learn from St. Jerom, the whole of this part was rejected, and the Version of Theodotion substituted in its stead. Which rejection is chiefly ascribed to the conduct of Origen ; for in his Hexapla, though there were two columns allotted in each of the other Prophets, one for the Version of LXX, and another for that of Theodotion, upon Daniel there was only one, viz. for the LXX, with sundry marks or asterisks in it, denoting supplies or rejections from the authority of Theodotion's, as being accounted much nearer the Hebrew. And in other books of his he professes to follow the Edition of Theodotion in his Citations, and not of the LXX ; and hence the LXX as amended by Origen ‡ came first to be read in churches, and afterwards the whole Version of Theodotion was adopted for that purpose, and the original LXX Version, being suffered to go into disuse, was by this means

* The Rev. Dr. Holmes, now Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.

† Many of these faults must doubtless have proceeded from the mistakes of Transcribers, and when these errors are clearly discovered, and a correct edition appears, we can scarce now expect a fairer help to lead us to the knowledge of the original Scriptures in the earliest times of the Canon.

‡ For a just, neat, and well-drawn character of this *Princeps Vetus*, or Chief of the Ancients, see *Concio ad Clerum*, published in 1790, by my very learned Friend Dr. John Randolph, Canon of Christ Church, and Royal Professor of Divinity in Oxford.

probably lost. On this account it is that Commentators on Daniel commonly cite the Greek Interpreter, when they refer to what is usually called the LXX in the Polyglotts; and the same rule is generally observed in these Notes; and when the late Roman Edition * is referred to, it is commonly distinguished by some mark, which will be so easily discerned as to need no explanation.

NOR is the want of a LXX the only Version which from the Book of Daniel has been made the Object of Cavil; there is another defect which is charged to it, and in which it is singular from the rest of the Prophets, the having no Targum. When the pure Hebrew language was growing into disuse among the common herd of the Jewish people, and had almost entirely yielded to the Chaldee, or at least a mixed kind of language which had been in use after the return from the Captivity, it was thought advisable to translate the Scriptures into the Chaldee or the Jerusalem tongue †, that they might still be read by the people in the language to which they were accustomed. Onkelos, a learned Jew, undertook to translate the Law, and Jonathan ben Uzziel, another very distinguished one, said to be of the school of Hillel, translated the Prophets, and this very near the time of our Saviour's appearance upon earth. These Translations were called Targums ‡, and in the latter, or among the Prophets, the Book of Daniel is not now found. But we must not certainly conclude from hence that it never existed, as many Targums are upon good authority said to have been lost; and even this of Jonathan was at some times very rarely to be met with before the Art of Printing was known. Besides the

* The Editor calls it in his Title-page, Codex Chisianus.

† This mixed Language of ancient Hebrew and Chaldee is called in the New Testament *the Hebrew Tongue*.

‡ They are also distinguished by the name of the Chaldee Paraphrase, probably from the free and loose manner of rendering, which the latter often uses, agreeably to the didactic complexion of the times in which he wrote. There are other Targums or Versions; for which see Prid. Con. p. ii. B. 8, but these were the chief.

greater part of this Book is written in the Chaldee Language, and therefore must make a Translation into that tongue less necessary *: and what is still more, Bishop Chandler has made it appear very probable, that there was a Targum of Jonathan's on Daniel, and very good reasons may be conjectured at least why it came to be rejected; for a Book that so plainly treats of the Messiah would probably meet with little favour among the Jews. Moreover it appears that Jonathan in other parts of his Targum evidently alludes to passages in this Book, and consequently must have been well acquainted with it, as the same learned Prelate has fully shewn †. It is also observed by Dr. Prideaux ‡, that it was long supposed there were no Targums on the two Books of Chronicles; because none such were known till they were published by Beckius at Augsburgh in Germany, that on the first Book in 1680, and the other on the second in 1683. However this argument ought not to affect in the least the authenticity of this Book, as there are irrefragable Proofs that it existed long before the Targums at their earliest date could have been possibly framed §.

In this Prefatory Discourse I have found it necessary to enter into a great variety of particulars, some of which have been treated with greater brevity than others, as they have already been discussed by much abler Writers. It has been unfortunate for the Book of Daniel, and for the Interpreters of it, that not only many passages therein have been

* For the same reason probably there is no Targum on the Book of Ezra, at least none now appears. Nor is there any known upon Nehemiah; but there may have been one and lost. Elias Levita a Jew of the 16th century, is said to have doubted, whether there ever was such a Book as Jonathan's Targum, the copies were at that time so very rare.

† See his Vindication of the Defence of Christianity, Chap. i. sect. 3.

‡ Connex. P. ii. B. 8.

§ If the Reader is not satisfied as to this point from the preceding Observations, he may consult the Vindication of the Defence, &c. in the part just quoted; and Dr. Samuel Chandler's Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies.

the subject of cavil, but the authority of the Book itself has been called in question; that objections of a general as well as of a specific nature, to the whole as well as to the parts, are to be combated, and though often refuted, like a many-headed monster, they have been often revived in different forms. Several forgeries have been palmed upon the world as the work of this Prophet, and from hence his real Works have been unreasonably suspected. If the Author has written in Chaldee as well as in Hebrew, some compositions that are evidently Greek, must be also ascribed to him, and pretended to have had an Eastern original, though that original has never been known. It happened that some of these works, as the Story of Susanna, and of Bel and the Dragon, had found a place in the Translation of Theodotion, had been afterward translated by Jerom into the Vulgate Latin, and from hence obtained the sanction of the famous Council of Trent, and were considered as the 13th and 14th Chapters * of this Book. This opinion is still maintained by the Church of Rome, but deservedly rejected by Protestants: For to mention no other reasons, the play upon the words or names † of the trees in the Greek History of Susanna, and the very absurdity and manifest plagiarism in the latter Tale, must be sufficient to convince us of their spurious origin.

* The History of Susanna in its Apocryphal Title is said to be *set apart from the beginning of Daniel*; and the History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon to be *cut off from the end of it*. The Song of the Three Children, which like the rest is said to be *not in the Hebrew*, will be adverted to in its place at Chapter the third. Neither of the three appears to have been ever received in the Jewish Canon, or acknowledged by the Ancients, nor does Jerom give one of them any better Title than the *Fables* of Bel and the Dragon. Lardner thinks that the Canon of Ephrem the Syrian was the same as that of the Jews; and says, that in his Commentary on Daniel he has taken no notice of either of the above pieces, as Dr. Asseman owns. See Cred. Vol. IV. p. 407. 8vo.

† *υπο σχινον*, under a Mastich Tree. The Angel is ordered }
 σχισαι σε μεσον, } to cut thee in
υπο πρινον, under a Holm Tree. The Angel waiteth } two.
 πρισαι σε μεσον, }

The like correspondence is not found in other Languages. If there are Hebraisms in these pieces, it can only prove that the Author was a Hebrew, or Hellenistic Jew, that wrote in the Greek Language.

But there are other suggestions of greater weight, and from characters of high reputation, which have been in our own times started against some parts of this Book, that have been always received as canonical. The chief of these did not occur to me till I had nearly finished this Dissertation, and therefore though they may have been in some measure answered in the preceding parts of it, yet I must not omit the particular notice of them, lest they should be conceived to be improperly disregarded, or incapable of a satisfactory reply.

That very eminent and able Critic J. D. Michaelis, in the second Volume of his Supplement, p. 921, has the following remark,—“Hoc argumento non ut certo utor, cum alias ob causas, tum quod possint capita Danielis iii. iv. et v. reliquum librum recipienti suspecta videri aut spuria.” I do not find that his suspicions extend to any more than those three Chapters; but the learned Professor Eichhorn, in his Introduction to the Old Testament, brings forward doubts that advance a step further, and include the sixth Chapter also in the suspicious part. Not that he denies that these four Chapters made originally a part of *the Book of Daniel*; but he seems to think they were first in a detached form handed down by Tradition before the original Canon was settled, and hence proceeded a double Chaldee Text, one of which has been preserved to us by the Masoretes, and from the other was translated the Greek Version. Each he thinks had its peculiar perfections and faults. A general conformity prevailed in both, but variations in some passages may be discovered. One compressed what the other gave more diffusively: One related some circumstances of which the other took no notice. Yet the present Chaldee Text he allows is sometimes to be preferred before the Greek Version, though at others he gives the preference to the Greek. He confines his exceptions to the former part of

the Book*, and produces several variations which tend, as he conceives, to establish his opinion; but he allows the six last Chapters indisputably to contain original pieces of which Daniel was the Author.

In a Posthumous Work of a very able Writer the late learned Dr. Jortin, intitled *Tracts Philological, &c.* printed at London, in 1790, the following passage appears at p. 390, of Vol. I. “The Book of Daniel hath been attacked by Infidels ancient and modern. It must never be given up by any Christian; for our Saviour cites Daniel’s Prophecies, and when he so often calls himself *the Son of Man*, he plainly alludes to Daniel vii. 13, 14. But may it not be proposed as a mere speculation, whether the Book of the Prophecies of Daniel doth not begin at the seventh Chapter, and whether the six foregoing, which are historical, were not affixed by some Jewish Writer, at some time, but not long, after the death of the Prophet†? Our Lord hath not cited any thing from them, nor alluded to any thing contained in them. Indeed, the Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Chap. xi. 33, speaking of those who stopped the mouths of lions, and quenched the violence of fire, alludes to the stories of Daniel, Chap. vi. and of the three men, Chap. iii.”

Now though the remarks of these learned men are chiefly intimations of their own *doubts*, or rather intended some of them to remove those of others by new and ingenious solutions, yet I am willing to give the objection its full force, and as I have often revolved in my mind this whole matter, would beg leave to offer my sentiments upon it in a compendious manner, especially as it may lead to some

* From Chap. ii. ver. 4. to the end of Chap. vi.

† An opinion not unlike this seems to have been entertained by Dr. Halifax in his second Sermon of Warburton Lectures, p. 37, but expressed in a more decided manner; yet he still vindicates the authority of the whole Book.

Observations that may throw light on the substance, as well as strengthen the authority of this Book.

In its fullest extent the united Objection reaches only to the six first Chapters; The six last therefore of this Prophet are out of the question, and to be considered as undoubtedly authentic. Indeed the seventh Chapter is written in Chaldee, but as our Saviour plainly alludes to a passage in it at ver. 13, 14, when He so often calls himself *the Son of Man*, this, as Dr. Jortin has observed, must establish its authenticity: And whoever carefully peruses this Chapter may clearly discover in it the style of Daniel, and such a similarity and correspondency between this and the later Visions, that notwithstanding the difference of the language there can be no hesitation to whom it ought to be ascribed.

The first Chapter is written in pure Hebrew; and though it relates the History of Daniel and his friends, and speaks of the Author in the third Person, yet this is no material Objection to its authenticity, as the like mode is found in other Books of the Old Testament, especially in Hosea and Ezra; and the favourable light in which the Author represents his own Endowments and Proficiencies, together with those of his friends, is a very fair reason for his adopting the third Person; and the like observation may be applied to similar usages in the other Historical Parts of his Book.

The second Chapter begins with the Hebrew Language, and thus far I presume is unexceptionable likewise. Why the Prophet should leave this language, and introduce the Chaldee, some manifest reasons may be assigned, as that he was writing of matters that chiefly related to the Chaldeans, was stating a conference between the King of Babylon and his Magicians, at the beginning of which

conference the language changes ; and moreover the Prophet himself was in the Court of that King, and in a high station in it, probably at the time when he wrote the King's Dream recorded in this second Chapter. The Dream itself has also such an evident agreement between another of Daniel's related in the seventh Chapter, that there seems no reason to doubt of the truth and circumstances of it, or that it was written by Daniel himself who is so much interested in it, or at least at his suggestion. These considerations may sufficiently obviate any exceptions to the two first Chapters, the style and manner of which must strongly plead in favour of their authenticity.

The other four Chapters contain in them some occurrences of a truly marvellous nature, and which have sometimes staggered the faith of cool and philosophical minds. I have endeavoured to obviate this difficulty in my Notes, by quoting parallel instances, either in the sacred or profane Writings, of Escapes or Deliverances, of the Suspension of the ordinary Powers of Nature, of the unrelenting and impetuous Carriage of haughty Rulers, of various sorts of vindictive and cruel Punishments, such as may tend to remove those Difficulties, which would offer themselves upon our first attention to these portions of History. I must also add in general that if the Attestation of the Book which delivers these narratives is well-founded and established, the narratives themselves are surely credible; as there is nothing contradictory or absurd in them, nothing repugnant to those notions which we must admit of the power of that Almighty Being, to whose secret Agency the Deliverances are ascribed.

As to the Language in which they are written let me farther observe, that this is no other than the vernacular one of the country in which the Transactions were performed; and there may be this additional reason for the

use of this Language, that the Almighty Father of all men might be unwilling to leave himself without witness, without verbal witness, even in those countries which did not acknowledge him as the true God; so that by thus gradually making discoveries of his interposition to the Pagan World, he might prepare them for the glorious Manifestation of his Will by his Son, who was to be a Light to the Gentiles, as well as the glory of his People Israel.

Whether this Language is altogether agreeable to the usual style of Daniel, and consequently whether he was the Writer of these four Chapters, I am ready to allow that doubts may fairly arise in the Critic's mind. There is indeed often such a simplicity and energy, the Characteristics of ancient Writings, as must strongly incline us to ascribe the Composition to Daniel, and from a view of these passages * I had once concluded that the whole was undoubtedly written by him. But upon a farther review, I must confess that the diffusiveness and expansion of other parts, the different turn of the sentences, and flow of the language, have made me less sanguine; and though I retain no doubt as to the authenticity of any part of the Book †, or whether it should be received as canonical, yet the conviction is not so strong, at least from the style, that Daniel himself was the Writer of the whole of it. Other Books of the Old Testament have portions in them not written by the persons whose names they respectively bear; The same might possibly have been the case in this. An inattention to Accuracy amongst the Oriental Writers has been often noticed, and is generally confessed; and though not sufficient to occasion mistakes in the sense, may

* Compare Chap. iii. 29. with Chap. ii. 5. See the beginning of Chap. iv. and ver. 4. 28, &c. the latter part of Chap. v. and Chap. vi. 16, 21, 22; and where Daniel is introduced as speaking, the Language is properly his. See also the former part of this Dissertation.

† To dispute the real age of Daniel, and the Genuineness of his Book, is arbitrary and unreasonable. Lardner, Vol. II. p. 201.

yet sometimes affect the style, and make it appear less compact, or less flowing. I am not aware of any alarming consequence from the suggestion, that there might have been two Chaldee copies of these Chapters, one from which Theodotion translated, and the other transmitted to us through the Masoretes, and though each might have in many instances varied from the other, yet the Text from which both were originally derived might still have been uniform, and probably in but few respects different from what we have now in use. And whether it was written by Daniel, or at his direction by another person, by one of his Companions, or a Member of the great Synagogue, in any such view there can be no objection to its authenticity, no doubt of its belonging to the original Canon.

It is said Chap. vii. 1, that Daniel wrote his Dream; a part of the Book therefore was undoubtedly written by him; and that the Compilers of the Canon of Scripture should insert traditionary Stories among the indisputed Records of this Prophet, is a position very disparaging to the authority of Scripture, and scarce reconcilable with the doctrine that it was all *θεοπνευστος* *, or *inspired by God*. If therefore no probable period can be fixed for the introduction of these suspected Chapters, nor any other marks pointed out that would evince their origin to be spurious, the conclusion seems necessary, that they must be authentic, and if not written by Daniel, at least approved by him, and incorporated with his authority into his Book.

Should the Argument be transferred from Words to Things, or any doubts be started concerning the circumstances of the History contained in these Chapters, it will then assume another form. Whatever may be the sentiments of others, I confess I can perceive no sort of Hiatus in the narrative of the third Chapter at the 23d verse, as

* 2 Tim. iii. 16.

related in the present Chaldee Text. Where is the absurdity in supposing that a furious Despot, and conceiving himself insulted, should, after he had ordered a furnace of fire to be heated to the utmost to receive the objects of his resentment, attend himself to the event, and especially when the violence of the fire had destroyed those persons who were executing his commands? That the 22d verse in the Translation of Theodotion is defective, I can clearly discover, but the Chaldee has no such defect; nor do I see any at the 23d verse, but rather the language seems much more agreeable to the Oriental style as it now stands, than with that long Hymn introduced in it, which is foisted into the Greek of Theodotion. However if it be difficult to account for the Monarch's presence at the furnace, the circumstances of his being called thither by the voice of the three men hymning or singing appears to me to assist but little in removing the difficulty.

With respect to the Edict at Chap. iv. whether it was taken from the Chaldee Archives, or written by a Jew, I shall not inquire: But why should any one urge against it the Improbability of its Contents? A haughty and imperious Monarch, flushed with long and constant successes in War, and all the decorations and majestic achievements which the most extravagant Fancy could design in Peace, accustomed to the gratification of his most licentious Passions, and the uncontroled fury of his eager Desires, that such a person, thus bloated with Pride, and on the pinnacle of his Ambition, should be given up to his Phrenzy, fall into a state of the most abject Melancholy, continue therein for a considerable term, and at length be restored to his Understanding and his Kingdom, is surely not a very unnatural process, and by no means surpassing our Faith, when attested by proper records, and conveyed down to us in a Book of such authority as the Bible. If the end of the Edict that declares these facts be not immediately obvious,

and yet may be discovered by a small addition which appears in the Alexandrian Version, the most natural and just conclusion is, that the clause, if necessary, must have been lost from the present Chaldee Text, and which this Version will supply. Besides, that Daniel should not be first summoned to interpret the Dream, in preference to the rest of the Magi, may be attributed possibly to the state of the King's mind, which might not be reduced at once to insanity, but the malady might gradually come upon him. Or whatever was the cause, it can scarce seem right to examine questions of this sort at this distance of time with a very scrupulous and nice inquiry; and if we should find some general intimations only* of this Disease of Nebuchadnezzar's in profane History, it might be enough to satisfy candid and impartial minds. I would also add farther with respect to the leading argument, that in this fourth Chapter the Variations of the Chaldee from the Greek of Theodotion are comparatively few, not near so many as in the other three Chapters, nor more than may be discovered in any other Chapter of Daniel of a proportionate length.

With respect to the History of Belshazzar, that Daniel when called in to explain the Hand-writing, after a long and solemn pause, should at length remind the King of his Imprudence, and his neglect of Improvement from his Ancestor's Sufferings, is no more than might be expected from a faithful Monitor immediately authorised by Heaven, to execute a Commission that was a Prelude to the fate of a great Empire, nor can I think such conduct could ever deserve to be characterised under the denomination of unseemly reproaches, or as delivered in an unbecoming manner.—To these considerations I will beg leave to add, that the History of these four Chapters is confirmed by Josephus †, who relates minutely the far greater part of

* See the Note at the end of Chap. iv.

† Ant. x. 10.

it, and from hence its authority should seem less questionable.

I have rather dwelt on this subject from an apprehension that the Argument might wear a more equivocal aspect than from the first outset appears to have been stated. Had I conceived it to relate altogether to the nature or form of compositions prior to the adjustment of the Original Canon, I should scarce have thought it necessary to examine it, but must have reckoned the inquiry of too large a nature to fall within the compass of my design. The original Text ought not to be given up in any portion without strong conviction of Error; and to suspect it any where to be an adulterated copy * must have an undoubted tendency to lessen its conviction, and can never be approved by the faithful Advocate for the Writings of Truth.

After all, though I am very much a friend to free and rational Inquiry, yet I cannot but be persuaded, that the Argument from internal notices may in some cases be very fallacious, and that too much confidence ought not to be placed in it. Our own judgments are constantly liable to manifold errors, and often sadly warped by various prejudices: The style of ancient Writers may have been very different at different times, and on different subjects and occasions. The Greek Translation might have been made in a freer manner, or from a defective copy, and by an inferior hand † to that of the other Prophets; and that it differs materially from the Original in other parts as well as

* To prevent mistakes, the expression is meant chiefly to be understood of considerable interpolations, introduced on mere human authority.

† Walton suspects that the Book of Daniel was not publicly read by the Jews, lest it should give offence to the Princes to whom they were subject, since it contains such manifest Predictions of the change and ruin of the greatest kingdoms under which they lived; so many suspect the Apocalypse was not immediately published or received in the Church on this account, because many calamities were predicted in it to the Roman Empire: And that for the same reason perhaps the LXX did not translate Daniel, lest they should offend Ptolemy, but that it was afterwards translated into Greek by some other hand. Proleg. ix. sect. 51.

in these Chapters is evident*. Some Errors have crept into the original Text of the Old Testament undoubtedly from the mistakes of Transcribers: Other Variations may possibly have found their way into it from early Versions and marginal References. The sense may not be very materially affected in either of these cases, and the Text itself through the labours of the Learned may by degrees be restored to its genuine purity. Upon the whole, from the constant attention of the Jews to their Scriptures, and the general superintendency of the Providence or Spirit of God on this Divine Code, we may fairly conclude, that the Old Testament is come down to us unadulterated as to any very essential Variation; and that the Book of Daniel, as it now stands, and has stood for many years before the Christian Æra, and as far as appears from within a few years after the final Completion of the Canon, is an important part of this sacred Code.

If some of the Articles herein adverted to may seem to have deserved a more full Discussion, or if there are other general Topics which might claim attention in the consideration of this Book, I can only say, that they must belong more properly to Works of a different nature from the present, and have either had justice done them already, or may expect it from future Inquiries.

* See Chapters ii. 25; viii. 11, 25; ix. 8; xi. 2, 20; xii. 13.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

CHAPTER I.

1 IN the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of

THIS Chapter relates the History of Daniel during the early part of his Captivity, and especially the mode of treatment of himself and some young friends, before they were introduced to the personal attendance on king Nebuchadnezzar.

1. *In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim.*—Great difficulties have arisen in ascertaining the chronology of this King's reign, in making it agree with Jeremiah's prophecy relating to the seventy years of captivity in his 25th chapter, and with the reign of Nebuchadnezzar the Great. It may not be amiss therefore to enter somewhat largely into this inquiry, as it has engaged the attention of several learned persons, may be useful in fixing a mark, whence many subsequent events may be more readily arranged, and will lead to some observations on the history of the times, and of the affairs of the Jews, at the commencement of the captivity.

After the death of the good king Josiah, the people of the land took his son Jehoahaz, and made him king in his father's stead. But this transaction not proving agreeable to Pharaoh-necho king of Egypt, he dethroned this wicked prince, cancelled his short reign of three months, put him in bonds, and took him away into Egypt, where he

Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon to Jeru-

remained till his death : When he did this, he also made the land of Judah tributary, and set up Jehoiakim as king over it, in the room of Josiah his father, as we learn from the 23rd chapter of the 2nd Book of Kings.

This Prince, who seems to have been more wicked than any of his predecessors, continued a sort of tributary King for about four years. But in his 4th year, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, besieged Jerusalem and subdued it ; upon which Jehoiakim became his servant three years, submitted to become his tributary, and to hold his kingdom under him ; whereupon Nebuchadnezzar left him in possession, in order to pursue his conquests over the Egyptians. Soon after the expiration of this term of three years, that is, about the 8th year of Jehoiakim, he rebelled against the king of Babylon, refused the customary tribute, set himself up as the free Sovereign of Jerusalem, and continued in this state two or three years. During which term, the Lord sent against him bands of the Chaldees, and of the Syrians, and of the Moabites and Ammonites, who under the direction of the king of Babylon made war upon him, and committed depredations from various parts, till at length they shut him up in Jerusalem, and having taken him prisoner in his eleventh year they slew him with the sword, and cast out his dead body into the high-way ; thus according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, Chap. xxii. 19, burying him with the burial of an ass, without one of the gates of Jerusalem.

Now some of the Jews and other learned men are of opinion, that by the 3rd year of Jehoiakim, the prophet here means the last year of his reign, or of that term in which he reigned as sole and independent Monarch over the land of Judah ; and it is certain that in the former years he was only a sort of tributary King, first to the Egyptians, and then to the Assyrians or Babylonians. And this opinion has been thought to be favoured by Josephus, Ant. lib. 10. ch. 6. who places the first attack of Nebuchadnezzar against the Jews in the 4th year of his own reign, or the 8th of Jehoiakim's, at least he does not appear to mention any attack before this. But upon a closer attention to this passage in Josephus, it appears that Nebuchadnezzar, when he made this attack on the Jews, demanded a tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened war on his refusal : whence perhaps it should seem, that there must have been some former attempts on their city, in order to make such tribute due ; for it is from a country conquered,

or that hath submitted, that tribute is usually expected. The Historian also takes notice a little before of the expedition against Necho, and the taking of Charchamish, and all Syria to Pelusium, * except Judea ; which he places in the 4th of Jehoiakim ; and when he mentions the above menace in the 8th, he does not call this a first attempt upon Jerusalem, nor does his account exclude a former attack, if it does not imply it.

But whatever may have been the opinion of Josephus, the above state of the matter cannot be just ; for which among others may be assigned the two following reasons ; First, it seems incompatible with the very words of Daniel, who being a Jew, and writing here in Hebrew, must follow most probably the Jewish chronology, in which there would be a great void, if the period from the death of Josiah to the 8th of Jehoiakim was wholly disregarded, or if his 8th year should be considered as his first by calling the 11th his third : But farther, the history of Daniel in his 2nd chapter cannot correspond therewith ; for he is there said in the 2nd year of Nubuchadnezzar, meaning according to the Chaldee computation, to be brought before the King to interpret his dream ; now he must have been three years before this in captivity, and under the instruction and discipline of the Chaldeans ; and therefore it is impossible that this introduction to the King could have been in the 2nd Jewish year of Nebuchadnezzar, who began his reign, that is jointly with his father, toward the end of the 3rd year of Jehoiakim according to the Jewish account (Jer. xxv. i.) yet toward the end of his 5th year, according to the Babylonish account, when after his father's death he reigned over the whole empire. And thus the 7th year of Jehoiakim will be the time, when Daniel discovered his dream to Nebuchadnezzar, and acquainted him with the interpretation of it.

It may be proper just to observe in this place, that the Jewish and Babylonish year not commencing at the same time may sometimes occasion an apparent inconsistency ; but this will easily be removed by recollecting that both computations are occasionally found in Scripture, and might very probably be used by the prophet Daniel, who wrote during the captivity in both languages, and seems to follow at different times the manners of each people.

Upon the whole, as some time must be allowed for the siege, the

* *Παρεξ της Ιουδαίας*.—Perhaps this expression is only meant to intimate, that Judea was not subdued in so full a manner as the rest of Syria, or as it was afterwards at the end of the second defeat in the 11th of Jehoiakim, or during the short reign of his son.

preparations for it, and the transactions before and after it, and as the King came up in the 3rd year of Jehoiakim against Jerusalem, probably toward the latter end of it, and diverted his army towards Egypt, to prevent any obstructions from that quarter, before he executed his designs on Jerusalem, nay even had a battle with the Egyptians, and besieged and took Charchamish; upon these accounts we may date the commencement of the seventy years' captivity from the completion of the siege in the 4th year of Jehoiakim, when Daniel and his associates were amongst the first of the captives.

I am still aware there is a disagreement amongst Chronologers, where to fix in other æras this 4th year of Jehoiakim, and consequently as to the real time of the commencement and period of the captivity. This disagreement is pointed out by the author of *Critical Observations on Books*, and a table is drawn up in his 3rd Number, exhibiting at one view the dates of the Chaldean æra, of the years before Christ, and of the Olympiads, to which the 4th of Jehoiakim and the first capture of Jerusalem are supposed to correspond. Dr. Prideaux places them in the 606th year before Christ, or the 142nd of the æra of Nabonassar; but Vignoles and Blair fix the year after this for the 4th of Jehoiakim, and Vignoles thinks the first capture of Jerusalem happened in that year. I rather think the latter are right, and that the captivity did not continue seventy full solar years, but so many years of computation only, or somewhat more than sixty-nine full years; and thus their termination will be at nearly the same period, or some time in the year 536 before Christ.

I will beg leave to make a short addition to this long note, in order to illustrate a passage in the New Testament. Jehoiakim was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin in the kingdom of Judah, who reigned three months, and was taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar, and carried to Babylon, in the 8th year of that monarch's reign, 2 Kings xxiv. 8—12. Now the names of these two Kings are so nearly alike, that they are probably both called by the same name of Jechonias in the first chapter of St. Matthew: the former was the son of Josias, who begat Jechonias, or Jehoiakim, and his brethren about the time of the captivity. Then after they were brought to Babylon, whither Jehoiakim never came, Jehoiachin or Jechonias begat Salathiel, &c. Some have got over this difficulty by supposing there is an omission in the text; and there are copies that read thus, "Josias begat Joachim, and Joachim begat Jechonias;" but the greater number of copies and the Versions favour the present reading; and there seems no necessity for an alteration.

- 2 salem, and besieged it. And the Lord gave into his hand Jehoiakim king of Judah, with a part of the vessels of the house of God, and he carried them into the land of Shinar to the house of his God, and brought the vessels into the treasure-house of his God.
- 3 Then the king spoke to Ashpenaz the chief of his chamberlains, to bring in some of the children of

2. *And the Lord gave into his hand.*—Many MSS. read יהודה for יאדב, an alteration often observable; see a note of Bishop Newcome's on Amos, v. 16. "And the Lord gave αὐτῇ καὶ Ἰωακείμ," the city as well as the King. Cod. Chis.

—*and he carried them.*—That is, the vessels, and not, as some would understand it, the captives also; for Jehoiakim only is mentioned, who died, as we have seen, in the land of Judah. Moreover, the part of the vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar took away, he brought into the house of his God Bel in the land of Shinar; which seems to have been a level country in Chaldea, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, if not in Babylon itself, as Jerom observes, Terra Sennaar locus est Babylonis, in quo fuit campus Dura. But Bochart considering the שניער in ע as a strong guttural, takes it to be the same with Singar mentioned by many ancient geographers, (and the Copt. Vers. reads χυγαρ) which besides Babylon comprehended all the western coast of the Tigris to the mountains of Armenia. See Phaleg. p. 28. Pliny also tells us, that from the distinguished eminence of the capital, for a long time the most famous city in the whole world, the rest of Assyria and Mesopotamia was called Babylonia. Herein he laid up the vessels in the treasury, a place in ancient temples appropriated for the reception of spoils and trophies, that were consecrated to the Deity to which the Temple belonged. For a more particular account of the vessels, see Jer. lii. 17, &c.

3. *The chief of his chamberlains.*—רב סריסין; thus the term is rendered, Esth. ii. 21. Afterwards throughout the chapter it is שר instead of רב; but the Greek all along translates, ἀρχιευνouchος, the Governor of his Eunuchs. The Chaldean verb סרס signifies castravit, evulsit; see Cast. Lex. and hence the noun סריס was applied to an eunuch. Persons of this character were employed in high stations by the Eastern princes, especially among the Persians. See Xen. Cyrop. lib. vii. p. 419. Ed. Hutch. but their offices were also conferred on

Israel, both of the seed royal, and of the nobles;

favourites, who had not been qualified for them by any artificial defect: thus Potiphar who had a wife (Gen. xxxix. 1.) is called סריס, the officer of Pharaoh. See also 2 Kings viii. 6. And in Jeremiah xxxix. 3. we read of an officer called רב סריס Rab-saris: Dr. Castell in his Lex. seems to think the expression equivalent to that ancient one among us of Lord-Dane, or perhaps it may correspond with the Magister Aulæ of the Romans, and the Syriac translator has rendered it by præfectus aulicorum. It seems to have been given to the Satraps, or such distinguished men, as had the care of the royal chambers or wardrobe.

In Isai. xxxix. 7. the word סריסים may probably signify Eunuchs, and does so in the opinion of Josephus, lib. x. ch. 2. and in order perhaps to evince the particular completion of the prediction at that verse the word seems to have been rendered in the same sense in this chapter. But the prediction will be verified if we render it by Officer or Chamberlain in both passages; and I rather prefer this sense here, not only as the more general one, but because the young men were to be free from blemish in their bodies as well as in their minds; and the Law, as appears from Deut. xxiii. 1. excludes all sorts of eunuchs from the church, or congregation of the Lord.

—*both of the seed.*—וּמִזְרֵעוֹ. Several MSS. and some edit. drop the Vau. De Rossi.

—*of the nobles.*—הַפְּרָתִּים. Interpreters differ much with respect to this word, which is only found in this place, and in the book of Esther, chap. i. 3. Th. retains the word φορβομμυ. Sym. reads παρβω. LXX and Aquila translate electos. Some will have it to mean the same as πρωτων among the Greeks, or the Latin Primores; Bishop Chandler derives it from פאר lofty, glorious, whence Phraortes, Abradatas, &c. and תמם to teem. Vind. of Def. Ch. i. sec. 2. Others render it by the word Paratimi, which seems to resemble, and probably to be borrowed from, this word; and thus it is considered as equivalent to the ομοτιμοι of the Greeks, persons of equal rank who lived in courts; see the speech of Cyrus at near the end of the 7th book of Cyrop. ὁ Εβραῖος. των ευγενων. Bahrdr Hex. which I think right. It may be proper just to observe here, that there are instances of resemblance between the Greek and the Assyrian or Chaldee languages in other books, as well as in this of Daniel.

- 4 Young men, in whom was no blemish, but comely in appearance, and ready of understanding in all wisdom, and of skill in science, and expert in prudence, so that they might have ability to stand in the king's palace, and that he should teach them the learning and the
5 language of the Chaldeans. And the king appointed

4. —*no blemish.*—In the word מְאֹם is an Epenthesis of the letter א; though many MSS. omit the א with Keri, and Houbigant thinks it superfluous. The word is applied chiefly to bodily defects, answerable to the Gr. *μωμος*. See Ephes. v. 27. but by the subsequent characters in the verse it should seem that the young men were to be as complete in every respect, in their mental as well as corporal powers, as was possible. The greatest care seems to have been required as to the accomplishments of their minds, and on this account three several expressions are made use of, the particular force of each of which it may not be easy to ascertain. Perhaps they relate, the former to the best and most excellent natural abilities, the second to the acquisition of the greatest improvements from cultivation, and the third to the communication of our preceptions in the happiest manner to others; and I have accordingly endeavoured as near as I could to follow this sense in the translation. Houbigant remarks, that by the word מְשֻׁבְּלִים notatur præparatio rei, non res; or that the young persons were to be qualified with a due preparation of mind for these acquirements, not already endued with them in any considerable degree. Yet I must confess, that the word appears to be of different import in the latter part of this book, and to denote the greatest advances in wisdom and knowledge. In general the context will determine its precise meaning. Cod. Chis. has *καὶ γραμματικούς, καὶ συνέτους, σοφούς, καὶ ισχυρούς.*

—*so that they might have ability.*—Not only might be of a strong constitution to endure the fatigue of long waitings, but qualified for every business in which they might be employed, and to do credit to the situation in which they were to stand.

—*should teach them the learning of the Chaldeans.*—As Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, so we are not to wonder that Daniel was taught the learning of the Chaldeans; and that he so far excelled in it, as to be placed at the head of the Magi. See Chap. iv. 9.

for them a daily allotment of the king's meat, and of the wine of his drinking, also that they should be nourished three years, and at the end thereof should
6 stand before the king. Now among these were of

5. — *A daily allotment.*—דָּבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ. “The allotment of the day in its day;” an expression often used in the book of Exodus, and of the same import with that of *daily bread* in the Lord's prayer.

—*of the King's meat.*—מִפֶּתֶחַ כֶּנֶס Though many MSS. read this word divided, yet it may better be considered as a compound word, not unfrequently occurring in the Old Testament, and according to its proper sense seems to express the former part the quantity, and the latter the quality of the food, or if פֶּתַח has any reference to bread, frustum panis, it may comprehend the bread and the meat together. And the general idea here designed probably is, that according to the Eastern manners they should be fed with such food and wine as were served at the king's table; “de dapibus suis.” Dathius.

—*and that they should be nourished.*—וְלִגְדֵּלֶם. LXX reads καὶ ἐκτραφῆναι αὐτοὺς, and so Syr. Perhaps it means to *make them grow*, which the preceding part of the verse and the other versions favour. There is a passage in the Menæchmus of Plautus, which may serve to illustrate this expression, as well as receive light from it.

Illic homo homines non alit, verum educat,
Recreatque, nullus melius medicinam facit.

Ita est adolescens ipse escæ maximæ. Act. i. 1.

6. — *Now among these were.*—Possibly the singular verb יִהְיֶה may be used with a particular reference to Daniel above his fellows, as he is mentioned alone at verse 8, though the business or purpose related also to the other three. However this be, it must be evident to persons conversant in the Hebrew language, that it is far from observing a nice discrimination of numbers, genders, and persons.

I am sensible this consideration has been alleged by Le Clerc as an objection to the perspicuity of the Hebrew tongue; and a very fair and candid inquiry into the force of the objection, as well as an answer to it, may be found in the Lord Bishop of Waterford's preface to Ezekiel. The only remark I would add further is, that although we allow the defect, yet the consequence deduced from it is not just; for the variations in general from strict grammatical accuracy

the children of Judah, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and
 7 Hazariah. And on them the prince of the chamberlains set names; and he set on Daniel that of Belte-

are so small, that it is impossible any person of common understanding and attention should be misled by them.

—*of the children of Judah.*—Of Jewish descent, in opposition to the ten tribes of Israel, who were now also under the Chaldee government, and may all be alluded to in the expression at verse 3, or, perhaps, in opposition to the tribes of Levi and Benjamin. I. D. Michaelis.

7. —*set names.*—Many persons in the Old Testament had several names, and it seems to have been a general custom to give new names to persons on their admission into new families, favours, or offices: Thus we find our blessed Lord gave new names to several of his apostles; and in the case before us there might be these farther reasons, or at least some of them, assigned for the change; a difficulty of pronouncing, or dislike of, the Hebrew words, a desire to wean these young Jews from the manners of their country, and to bring them to a conformity with the Chaldee usages in all respects.

But whatever might be the motive, it may be difficult to ascertain the derivation and sense of the new, if not of the old, names to any great degree of exactness. Daniel is thought to be derived from דָּן to judge, and אֱלֹהִים God, and to signify whom God hath judged; Hananiah from חַנָּן and יְהוָה, whom Jehovah hath favoured; Mishael from יֵשׁ He is, and אֱלֹהִים the powerful one of God; Azariah from עֹזֶר and יְהוָה the help of Jehovah; Belteshazzar, Gr. Βελτσαζαρ, from בֵּל Bel, שָׂדֶה to lay up, and אֶצֶר a treasure; the keeper or priest of the Arcana of Bel: Shadrach from שָׂדַח to pour out (hence English *to shed*) and מֶלֶךְ a King, a name given to the Sun by the Babylonians, “the inspiration of the Sun;” Meshach, from a Babylonian deity called מֶשַׁךְ, may mean one who belonged to this deity, of the same character with Venus; Abed-nego עֲבֹד נֶגוֹ, the servant of the shining light, or as Calmet thinks, “de Dieu Nago,” i. e. the Sun, or the Morning Star, unless the word should be written נֶבּוֹ, referring to the idol Nebo, who gave name to several distinguished personages among the Babylonians, as Nebo-chadnezzar, Nebo-zaradan, and others. See Pool’s Syn. It is certain from Herodotus, lib. 1. that the Chaldeans worshipped Jupiter Belus, Venus, and other idols, or the same under

shazzar, and on Hananiah Shadrach, and on Mishael Meshach, and on Hazariah Abed-nego.

- 8 But Daniel purposed in his heart, that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat, and with the wine of his drinking; therefore he requested of the prince of the chamberlains, that he might not
9 defile himself. Also God had brought Daniel into favour and compassionate regard with the prince of the
10 chamberlains. And the prince of the chamberlains said unto Daniel, I am afraid of my lord the king, who hath appointed your meat and your drink; for if he shall see your countenances more sad than the young men's who are your equals, then ye shall make me

other names, and from these it is probable that the names were given, according to Chaldee usage, to these young men.

8. —*that he might not defile himself.*—The defilement here alluded to might arise, either from the food being such as was prohibited in the law of Moses, or else what was offered to the idols of the Chaldees, or at least intreated to be blessed in their name. See 1 Cor. viii. 10, 20. and Ezek. iv. 13. Though wine was not prohibited in the Levitical Law, yet Daniel might wish to abstain from it, chiefly from motives of temperance; or rather as it came from an entertainment wherein a libation was probably made to idols, he might think himself obliged to do it on motives of conscience.

9. —*compassionate regard.*—לרחמים, Bowels of Compassion. MS. Pachom. *oukrupous*. It has a like sense also at Chap. ii. 18. The word is of very strong import, and denotes a kind of parental compassion. St. Paul has an expression somewhat like it, if not stronger, in his epistle to Philemon, verse 12. "Receive him, that is, mine own bowels." And we read of bowels of mercies, &c.

10. —*for if he shall see.*—אשר למה. See Nold. under אשר § 25. Gr. has μη ποτε.

—*your equals.* The Chaldee sense of this word גל seems the best, and is followed by Gr. Syr. and Ar. one of the same age, and born under the same planet; see Cast. Lex. Probably it may include the condition also; but LXX R. has τοὺς συντρεφόμενους ὑμῖν.

—*make me answerable.*—Reum facietis, says Houbigant; sc. a

- 11 answerable with my head to the king. Therefore said
 Daniel to Meltzar, whom the prince of the chamber-
 lains had set over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and
 12 Hazariah; Try thy servants, I beseech thee, ten days,
 and let them give us of pulse to eat, and water to
 13 drink. Then let our countenances be looked into
 before thee, and the countenance of the young men
 that eat the portion of the king's meat; and as thou
 14 shalt behold, deal with thy servants. So he hearkened
 15 to them in this matter, and tried them ten days. And
 at the end of ten days their countenance appeared

loco movere, non capite plecti; but Castalio prefers the latter sense, and I think rightly, and so the versions.

12. —*of pulse to eat.*—מִן הַזֵּרְעִים, seems to signify, of fruits or vegetables, or rather according to the Greek interpreter, of seeds in general; at the 16th verse the word is זֵרְעִים, and some MSS. read so in this verse. The sense is doubtless the same in both places, and perhaps may well enough be expressed by that kind of nourishing seed called pulse, ἀπο τῶν οσπριῶν, de leguminibus, LXX. See Isaiah, lxi. 11.

flava seres mutato sidere farra,

Unde prius lætum siliqua quassante legumen.

Virg. Geo. i. 73, 74.

Pliny in his Natural History, page 380, mentions a kind of pulse that is said to affect the temper of those that feed upon it, and to produce equanimity and gentleness. Various sorts of grain were dried and prepared for food by the people of the East, as wheat, barley, rice, and pulse, of the nature and preparation whereof some curious remarks may be seen in Mr. Harmer's Observations, vol. i. p. 271. Of some of these was *the parched corn* mentioned in Scripture, and the chief food of the labourers and poorer sort of people. And perhaps something of this kind of preparation might have been the choice of Daniel.

15. —*their countenance appeared more comely.*—חֹפִּיז אֲנָשָׁם אֱלָף LXX. Three or four MSS. omit the י in מִרְאִיהֶם; the noun is מִרְאָה; and the י if properly belonging to this word seems only substituted for ה. However the versions in Polyglot.

- more comely and more plump in flesh than any of the young men's that did eat the portion of the king's
 16 meat. Thus Meltzar continued to take away their portion of meat, and the wine that they should drink, and to give them pulse.
- 17 As to these four young men, God gave them prudence and skill in all learning and wisdom, and made Daniel to have understanding in all visions and
 18 dreams. And at the end of the days which the king had appointed to bring them in, the prince of the chamberlains brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar.
- 19 When the king conversed with them, and there was none found among them all like Daniel, Hananiah,

consider it as of a plural form ; probably on account of the adjective בריא that follows after טוב ; which must either agree with לדים "the young men," or else furnish another instance to confirm the preceding observation of the inaccuracy of the Hebrew language, in distinction of numbers, &c. The good effects of temperance and abstinence are here observable, but they are natural and usual, and the result of the ordinary blessings of God's providence.

16. — *Meltzar*.—Greek. ὁ μελζαρ Αμελσαδ, qui est a latere, an assistant. But Syr. and Ar. have הַמְנַצֵּר, a guardian, or inspector of young men. Yet Michaelis thinks there is no good authority for the change of the ל to נ. It means probably an assistant or deputy to Ashpenaz, of this name.

17. *As to these four young men*.—The Hebrew is pleonastic ; see the like at Chap. iii. 28, &c. and at Chap. iv. 26. and often in the Chaldee. Literally it is, to these young men, אַרְבַּעֶתָם "to each of them four ;" who were all persons of sagacity and knowledge, and skilled in the literature of the Chaldees, at least in the innocent parts of it ; but Daniel excelled the others in the gift of prophecy, and in his extraordinary skill in interpreting all sort of visions and dreams. See 1 Cor. xii. 10. Houbigant suggests, we must understand, not fortuitous or casual dreams, but such as were sent from Heaven.

19. — *none found among them all*.—One MS. has not the word מכלם ; but the versions retain it, and it plainly relates to *the whole* of the young men, alluded to at verse 4 ; whom these four far excelled, when they were introduced to stand before, or minister to, the King.

Misrael, and Hazariah; thus they stood before the
 20 king. Also in every matter of the deepest wisdom
 which the king inquired of them, he even found them
 ten times superior to all the soothsayers and magicians
 21 that were in all his realm. And Daniel continued
 even to the first year of the king Cyrus.

20. —*also in every matter of the deepest wisdom.*—Heb. of the wisdom of understanding; but Gr. Ar. and Vul. translate as if they had found a Vau before בינה, and so our English translation.

—*ten times superior to all the soothsayers and magicians.*—Heb. ten hands above—επαυδους και μαγους, Th. Hariolos et magos, Vul. Incantatores et Hariolos, Syr. Ten MSS. read, with the versions, ו before האשפים, though there is none in the printed text. The word חרטמים seems derived from חרט a style or writing instrument, used by the ancients on their waxen tablets; or it may signify any sort of pencil or tool, by which letters were marked; and hence the word is applied to those soothsayers who marked the natiivities of persons, and excelled in the knowledge of astrology, natural history, the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the like. See Exod. vii. 11*.

As to the other word, “Potest ab אשף deduci σοφος. Et potest אשף deduci vel a נשף crepusculum, vid. Buxt. vel a שפה emineuit, unde שפי clivus: Nam astronomis conveniunt editiores loci.” Secker. The reputation of Thales and other Sophi seems to have been great before the times of the Babylonish captivity; and Thales, who was of Ionia, living not far from Syria, might thence acquire the name, which is still retained by the Emperors of Persia. Both words may seem to comprehend those persons in general that were distinguished in the several kinds of learning cultivated among the Chaldees. Of the like character were the Magi in Egypt and Persia, and the other countries of the East, and those wise men that came to our Saviour at his birth. Matt. ii. 1.

21. *And Daniel continued.*—Heb. was. He lived in a flourishing state in Babylon, till the time of the dissolution of that empire by Cyrus, when the prophecies of Isaiah xlv. 28. and xlv. 1. were fulfilled; till the expiration of the Jewish captivity, which happened in

* Michaelis after Mill considers them as the *ιερογραμματεες* of the Egyptians, or person employed in explaining their Hieroglyphics; and he thinks the Persian Magi might also be called by this name. See Suppl. p. 922.

CHAPTER II.

1 Now in the second year of the reign of Nebuchad-

the first year of Cyrus, when Jeremiah's prophecy relating to the term of 70 years was fulfilled also. He was alive afterwards, as it appears, ch. x. 1. in the 3rd year of Cyrus: nor should the particle עַד "until," induce us to think otherwise; see Ps. cx. 1. and cxii. 8. and Nold. p. 534. Perhaps the ה before מֶלֶךְ the last word of the verse has a sort of emphasis to the honour and distinction of Cyrus. LXX R. has, "King of the Persians." Michaelis supposes a word wanting at the end, which he conjectures may be, *in Babylon*. But M. de Gebelin, a French critic, supposes the word *Cyrus* does not belong to the text; and that Daniel only meant to observe, that he was at Babylon in the first year of the reign of the King, i. e. Nebuchadnezzar. See Encyclopedie, Theologie, Livr. xxvii. sur Daniel. This last conjecture is ingenious, and perhaps may receive some strength from the verse that follows at the beginning of the next chapter.—"And in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed, &c." But there is no authority for dropping the word *Cyrus*.

In this chapter Nebuchadnezzar having dreamed, and been much affected thereby, is solicitous to know his dreams, and the meaning of them. He applies in vain to the wise men of his own country for information, and being disgusted at their inability, orders them all to be slain. Daniel is sought after among the number, but on application to God he learns the dream and the interpretation; and arrests the execution of the sentence. He explains the dream to the King, probably as relating to the four great kingdoms of the earth, and the establishment of the kingdom of the Messiah under the fourth: Whereupon the King admires his skill, acknowledges the power of his God, and advances Daniel and his friends to great honours and preferments.

1. *Now in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar.*—For an account of

this second year see the note on Chap. i. 1. But Mr. Jackson, and some other writers, place this dream later in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, supposing that Daniel was not carried into captivity till the reign of Jehoiakim, and that Nebuchadnezzar was not a complete sovereign till after the first destruction of Jerusalem; yet the plain and obvious sense of the text both here and in the first Chapter militates against this opinion, nor do I see how it can be reconciled with the Canon.

As the affairs of Babylon have so considerable a share in the historical parts of the Book of Daniel, as well as in other parts of Scripture, it may not be amiss to give here a short sketch of the kingdom of Babylon, previous to the reign of this monarch.

Whether the Assyrian empire was of very early date according to some of the Greek writers and chronicles, or whether its commencement was not till a much later period according to modern chronologists, it is agreed on all sides, that the origin of this and of the Babylonian monarchy must be traced from nearly the same source. And accordingly we read in the 10th chapter of Genesis, ver. 10, 11, that Nimrod the son of Cush and grandson of Ham, who seems to have been the first founder of extensive or regal authority, had the beginning of his kingdom in Babel or Babylon in the land of Shinar, as this country was still called in the time of Daniel. Chap. i. 2. Out of this land he went forth into Assyria, or it may be, as most of the versions read, Ashur or an Assyrian went forth, (that is, not one of the sons of Shem, but a person either of that name, or that took his name from the country) and built Nineveh and other cities. The descendants of these people seem for a considerable time to have followed the way of life of their founder, to have lived upon plunder and rapine in a rude uncivilized state, and not to have been much esteemed among the nations; till some potent king of Assyria perhaps collected them together, and settled them in Babylon and the country round about it. Bishop Lowth supposes this King to have been Ninus, and to have lived in the time of the Judges, following the testimony of Herodotus, who is understood to say, that the Assyrian monarchy lasted *but* 520 years: see his note on Isaiah, xxiii. p. 132. The words of Herodotus in his Clio, p. 40. Ed. Gron. are these, *Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἀνω Ἀσίας ἐπ' ἑτέα εἰκοσὶ καὶ πεντακοσία, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἠρξάντο ἀπιστασθαί*, which may be rendered, "When the Assyrians had possessed the supreme command over Upper Asia 520 years, the Medes first began to revolt from them;" Or perhaps, "the Medes were the first that began to revolt from the Assyrians, who enjoyed

the supreme power over Upper Asia 520 years." If we follow the latter sense, the continuance of this monarchy here meant may be carried on, if not to the final overthrow of the united Empire, at the death of Belshazzar, at least down to the destruction of Nineveh; and then Ninus must have lived in, or a little before, the time of David; or else, as is most probable, the language of Herodotus must terminate with the revolt of the Medes; and Ninus must have possessed himself of Babylon, which he enlarged and beautified, somewhat more than 500 years before the commencement of the Chaldean æra, in the year 747 before Christ.

The history of Assyria and Babylon from Ninus * to this last named period, is involved in much uncertainty, as we have scarce any authentic evidence to have recourse to, the testimony of the Greek writers wearing for the most part the appearance of fable, and the Scriptures throwing very little light on the matter. We find indeed mention therein of Pul, a king of Assyria, (2 Kings, xv. 19.) who was bribed by Menahem to depart from Israel; whom the compilers of the Universal History, after Sir Isaac Newton, suppose to be the same as Belus, the founder of both the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies; but their arguments, although plausible, seem not sufficiently convincing to overthrow the faith of Herodotus, however they may serve to invalidate the testimony of the long and numerous race of Kings according to Ctesias and the other writers that have followed him.

The next Assyrian King of the Scriptures is Tiglath-pileser, supposed to have been the son of Pul; and after him follow Shalmanezzer and Senacherib: During the reign of one of which monarchs, perhaps the former, the kingdom of Babylon and Chaldea, seems to have revolted, and it is probable from Herodotus, not long after the time that the Medes did, from the Assyrian empire. The first Prince after this revolt, at least the first that we have any certain knowledge of, seems to have been Nabonassar, the founder of the famous æra, that

* Mr. Bruce, in his Travels. B. ii. c. 1. speaks of Semiramis, and the immense riches of the Assyrian empire, which Montesquien thinks proceeded chiefly from rapine and plunder of other nations in war; but which Mr. Bruce more justly imputes to her connexions with India; and that as the commerce with that peninsula was unknown by sea, the whole must have been carried on by land only, and all nations of the continent must have received from her markets a supply of Indian stores. See Prelim. Dis. Upon this principle he accounts also for a passage in Solomon's Proverbs, c. vii. 16. where he says, that he decked his bed with coverings of tapestry of Egypt. Now Egypt had neither silk nor cotton manufactory, nor even wool. Solomon's coverings, therefore, though he had them from Egypt, were an article of barter with India.

commenced with his reign, and was called by his name. Several other Princes or Kings succeeded him in this kingdom, of whom little more is known than their names, which are recorded by the celebrated astronomer Ptolemy, in the canon above alluded to. But in the 27th year after the commencement of his father's kingdom his son Mardoc Empadus, or Merodach Baladan, began to reign over Babylon, which was the Prince that sent to congratulate Hezekiah king of Judah on his miraculous recovery, 2 Kings xx, and Isaiah xxxix, and probably to enter into an alliance with him against Senacherib, the King of the other part of the Assyrian empire. After this monarch had reigned over Babylon twelve years, he was succeeded by several Princes, who in their turns governed Babylon for a short period of about 20 years; when it became in a state of anarchy for eight years more, and was at length united by Assaradinus or Esar-haddon, the son of Senacherib, to the Assyrian empire. This happened about the 19th year of Manasseh, a wretched Prince, who succeeded his father the good Hezekiah in the kingdom of Judah.

I must not stop to mention the completion of several remarkable events in the history of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, which took place during the reign of Esar-haddon over Assyria, but must refer the reader to the narratives recorded in the 2nd book of Kings, the prophecy of Isaiah, c. vii, viii, and the book of Ezra, or to Dr. Prideaux and others, who have written the Scripture history. It is sufficient to observe, that the remainder of the tribes of Israel were entirely carried away by this Prince, and irrecoverably sunk among other nations, and that the king of Judah was also carried by him to Babylon though soon after he released him, and restored him to his liberty and his kingdom.

In the 31st year of Manasseh, Esar-haddon died, after he had reigned thirteen years over the Babylonians united to the kingdom of Assyria: he was succeeded by Saosduchius his son, the Nabuchodonosor of the book of Judith, whose successor was Chyniladan, and whose reign commenced in the 51st year of Manasseh, or the 101st of the æra of Nabonassar. From this effeminate and profligate king, Nabopolassar his general seized the Babylonian part of the empire, and reigned over his native country twenty-one years. This revolt took place in the 18th year of Josiah, king of Judah, about twenty-five years after the then Assyrian monarch began his reign; and at length by an union of this king of Babylon with the Princes of Media, that great city Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire, was taken and destroyed, the empire was extinguished, and the

nezzar, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams, wherewith
 his spirit was distracted, and his sleep was broken
 2 from him. Therefore the king commanded to call
 together the soothsayers, and the magicians, and the
 3 sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, to declare to the king

people reduced under the yoke of Babylon and Media. This union was effected by the marriage of his son Nebuchadnezzar or Nabocolassar, as he is called by Ptolemy, with Amyite, the daughter of Astyages, of the kingdom of the Medes; and this is the Prince of whose history so much is recorded by Daniel, and who, after the death of the good king Josiah in the reign of his sons, carried away so many captives from Judea unto Babylon, at that time the capital of the whole united empire.

—*Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams, wherewith, &c.*—Dreams, or a continued succession of various events: the following verb נִדְּחַתָּהּ is in Hithpahel, and denotes that his spirit was violently agitated, or in such consternation as to affect his body and disturb his rest; *his sleep was done, or broken upon him*, which seems the proper sense of the word נִדְּחַתָּהּ; but our old English translation has, “his sleep was upon him.” And Syr. renders, *was continued or deep upon him*. See chap. viii. 27. Houbigant would derive the word from נָדַח, Arab. نَدَحَ impetire. MS. Pachom. ἀπεγενετο. A fine picture of this sort of perturbation may be seen in Shakspeare’s *Dream of King Richard the Third*, Act v. scene 5.

2. —*the sorcerers.*—For the two former words see chap. i. ver. 20. By sorcerers seems to be meant a sort of necromancers, that through diabolical arts pretended to an acquaintance with departed spirits, from נִשְׁחַת, præstigiis uti, also to fascinate and enchant. Cast. Lex. They were perhaps not very unlike the sortilegi of the ancient Romans, and exercised themselves in various sorts of præstigiæ or enchantments, which were supposed to be performed by the assistance of demons. See an account of their practices in Bishop Lowth’s *Isaiah*, chap. xxix. 4.

The term *Chaldeans* has been applied to astrologers by many of the Greek and Roman writers. Diodorus, lib. ii. speaking of the Chaldeans says, they employ their whole time in philosophy and divination, and are trained up to them from their childhood: And Strabo, lib. xvi. makes a distinction, and observes that the word is sometimes

his dreams : wherefore they came and stood before the king. And the king said unto them, I have dreamed a dream, and my spirit is distressed to know the

applied to the nation, sometimes to the sect. Curtius, lib. v. c. 1, describes them thus, *Chaldæi siderum motus et statas temporum vices ostendere soliti* : And Cicero de Divin. p. 3, *Chaldæi, non ex artis sed ex gentis vocabulo nominati, diuturna observatione siderum scientiam putantur effecisse, ut prædici posset quid cuique eventurum, et quo quisque fato natus esset*. Juvenal, likewise, has this remarkable passage,

Chaldæis sed major erit fiducia; quicquid
Dixerit astrologus, credent a fonte relatum
Ammonis. Sat. vi. ver. 552.

These several passages may serve to shew the opinion that was commonly entertained of this people ; and therefore we shall be less surprised to find at verse 4 this word Chaldeans, according to the general sense of it, used for the Magicians of every sort. Thus Arab is sometimes used for a robber, and Chanaanite for a merchant.

—*to declare to the King his dreams.*—Dreams were often considered as particular intimations of the will of Heaven ; and hence the expression of Homer, in his first Iliad, *καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶ* ; and in the beginning of his second Iliad, he has by a bold and beautiful prosopopœia conveyed the will of Jupiter to Agamemnon in a dream, investing *Oνειρος* with all the qualities of a divine messenger. Diog. Laert. makes mention of a dream of Socrates whereby he foretold his death within three days ; and most of the schools among the Pagan philosophers gave credit to dreams, and considered them as revealing the will of the Gods. Cæsar had a remarkable dream in Spain, wherein he thought he was committing incest with his mother ; and the explanation was, that he should become master of the whole earth, the common parent of all men. The knowledge or interpretation of dreams was always esteemed to be a special communication of divine favour. See Gen. xli. 8. Job. iv. 12. And a full account of this whole matter may be learnt from Cicero's first book de Divin. and from various parts and passages of the Old Testament.

3. —*I have dreamed a dream.*—Or, have certainly dreamed. Gr. *ἠντιμιασθην*, but MS. Pachom. imitates the Hebrew.

- 4 dream. Then spoke the Chaldeans to the king in Syriac, O king, live for ever ; Declare the dream to thy servants, and we will shew the interpretation.
- 5 The king replied to the Chaldeans, The matter is

4. —*in Syriac*.—That is, in the Aramean, or Syrian language, as understood in its largest sense, being what was spoken by the Assyrians, Babylonians, and many of the neighbouring nations, both beyond the Euphrates, as Strabo intimates, lib. ii. and on this side, and is the same with what is called the ancient Chaldee. The prophet Jeremiah has one verse, and one only in Chaldee ; see Chap. x. ver. 11. if this verse be really authentic, which Dr. Blayney in his note on the passage with much reason doubts. In this pure language is also written some part of the book of Ezra ; and the prophet Daniel uses it in its original purity from this place to the end of the 7th Chapter. Of the whole of which text there is an Hebrew translation in Dr. Kennicott's Bible, at the bottom of the page, taken from his 240th MS. or the 16th of the Roman MSS. found in the Angel : Augustine Library, an account of which may be seen in his general Dissertation : In this MS. the Chaldee text is also found with the Hebrew in a lateral column, in the same character with the Chaldee paraphrase, and it is said to have been written in the year 1327. I scarce need observe that this original Chaldee, as it is found in the books of Daniel and Ezra, was in after-ages much corrupted by the introduction of many Hebrew words by the Jews themselves, and in process of time by more foreign words from other nations with whom the Jews had lived : Hence the Targums which were written long after the captivity are of inferior purity to the Bible text, and the Talmuds and other books are still more adulterated, the farther they are distant from the times in which the sacred writers lived. See a Dissertation on this subject in Bishop Walton's Proleg. xiii. prefixed to his Polyglott.

I. D. Michaelis is of opinion, that there was an old Chaldean language of Scythian or Slavonian origin, which some of the words or names in Daniel, as Nebuchadnezzar, Belschatzar, and the like, scarce to be derived from Hebrew primitives, may seem to countenance ; and that this language was derived from the Chalybes, near the Black Sea, and was what Daniel and the young men were ordered to be instructed in. Chap. i. ver. 4. See Spicil. Geog. Heb. T. ii. §. 77—94.

5. *The king replied to the Chaldeans*.—Chald. answered and said.

gone from me ; if ye will not make known unto me the dream and the interpretation of it, ye shall be cut in pieces, and your houses shall be laid into a dunghill :

Many MSS. read with Keri לְכַשְׂרָאִי in this place and others afterwards, from the plural כְּשָׂרָאִין in its entire form ; but though כְּשָׂרָאִי seems singular, it is likewise plural according to the use of this language, and therefore there is no occasion for an alteration. The word that follows soon after תְּהוֹדִיעוּנִי is of an anomalous form with two characteristics, a mode not unusual in the Chaldee ; see ver. 9 and 18, the same word also occurs at ver. 9, only with the plural ו omitted, which many MSS. supply.

—*the matter is gone from me.*—i. e. I do not recollect it. Gr. ἀπεσση. Vulg. recessit. The word מְלַח in Chaldee is of the same import with דָּבַר in Hebrew, and signifies either *word* or *thing*. But Syriac has, “the word is most sure which I say,” or my decree is gone forth and irrevocable. So at ver. 8, “ἀπατα με, ὁ Συρος ap. Mont-faucon. In linguis orientalibus non invenio אָזַר nisi hic, et ver. 8, ubi similiter interpretes. Notat Saadias ad hoc, אָזַר אָזַר Talmudistis *robur* esse. Mich. There is no other proof but from the word אָזַר that Nebuchadnezzar had forgot his dream. Sulp. Sev. understands, But he would not tell it : It seems unlikely he should have forgot it.” Secker. It appears however that he had forgotten it in the opinion of Josephus. Ant. lib. x. c. 10.

—*be cut in pieces.*—Literally, be made into pieces ; so Syr. i. e. utterly destroyed, according to Th. and Vulg. Thus was Agag hewed in pieces by Samuel, 1 Sam. xv. 33. The like seems to have been the fate of the children of Ammon by the direction of David. 2 Sam. xii. 31. And the Author to the Hebrews mentions this mode of suffering, in Chap. xi. 27, by some of the worthies in the Old Testament, “they were stoned, and sawn in pieces.” To it also our Saviour alludes in St. Luke xii. 46, where he speaks of the wicked servant being cut in sunder. Orpheus is said to have been torn in pieces by the Thracian women. And we find likewise that the same sort of punishment is still used in Abyssinia, of which the reader may see one example among others in the 3rd vol. of Mr. Bruce’s Travels, p. 455.

LXX R. or Cod. Chis. translates, “ye shall be made examples of, and your goods shall be confiscated,” or taken for the King’s use.

- 6 But if ye shew the dream, and the interpretation of it,
ye shall receive from me gifts, and a large reward, and
much honour; therefore shew me the dream and the
7 interpretation thereof. They answered a second time
thus, Let the king declare the dream to his servants,
8 and we will shew the interpretation. The king
replied, Of a certainty I know that ye would gain
time, because ye perceive that the matter is gone from

This proud King seemed determined to exercise the bitterest acts of cruelty against his magicians, to blot out the very traces of their memory, and make their houses a dunghill, if they did not gratify his unreasonable but anxious wishes. At Chap. iii. 29, we meet with a like denunciation from this haughty monarch. Consult also Ezra, vi. 11, for the latter part of the punishment, which probably was not unusual in later times among the Romans. Livy, l. 2, speaking of the punishment of Sp. Cassius, tells us, *dirutas publice ædes*: and Valer. Max. vi. 3, observes of the same person, *Senatus populusque Romanus non contentus capitali eum supplicio afficere, interempto domum superjecit, ut penetium quoque strage puniretur*. Sp. Mælius also suffered a like fate.

6. — *a large reward*.—נבוכדזר *annua erogatio*, from בזז to spoil, or plunder; it has a like sense in the Chald. Paraph. Jer. xl. 5. So Grot. But Castell has *Largitio amplior, lauta exceptio*, and derives it from a Persic origin.

8. — *I know that ye would gain time*.—Ye seek delays, in order to gain time; either that the King's attention to other concerns might make him forget this, or until he might possibly recollect some circumstances, or the whole of the dream. The original word means to buy or redeem time, and is of the like import with St. Paul's expression, Ephes. v. 16. Dathius renders the remainder of the verse thus, *siquidem quæ mea voluntas sit, audivistis*.

It may not be amiss to observe here, that the pronoun נני in this verse is read by many MSS. with נ at the end, according to the Hebrew form, instead of נ, which is most agreeable to the Chaldee form, and therefore right. The like variation in the MSS. and in some editions also, from the usual printed text is observable in many other places, but there will be no occasion to take farther notice of it.

- 9 me. But if ye will not make known to me the dream, this is your only decree; since ye have prepared a lying and corrupt discourse to relate before me, till the occasion be changed; therefore declare to me the dream, and I shall know that ye will shew me
 10 the interpretation of it. The Chaldeans answered thus before the king, there is not a man upon earth that is able to shew the king's matter; since no king, lord, or potentate, hath asked a thing of this sort of
 11 any soothsayer, or magician, or Chaldean. For the matter which the king requireth is momentous, neither is there any one that can declare it before the king but
 12 the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh. At this

9. —*this is your only decree, since ye have prepared.*—Syr. One and the same will be your lot; but this clause is omitted in the Greek, where the sentence must be understood elliptically. The following Vau may be rendered, *since*, see Nold. The verb הוֹמַנְתוֹן, ye have prepared, is read by Keri in Ithpah. הוֹמַנְתוֹן, and very many MSS. and some Ed. favour this reading. The word זמן signifies *time*, or rather *an appointed time*, and is scarcely to be found but in those books that were written after the commencement of the captivity: from this noun comes זָמַן in Pihel, to appoint, prepare, and the like; and the strength of the expression in Ithp. seems to denote, that the magicians had concerted a plan, to utter lies,—till the time could be changed, or the King's temper softened by a new face of affairs. See Cast. Lex.

10. —*not a man upon earth that is able to shew.*—Ch. upon the dry ground. Many MSS. read with א instead of ה at the end of the verb לְהַחֲיוֹה, “to shew,” which is more agreeable to the Chaldee form, and is the reverse of the change taken notice of at ver. 8. These variations are observable continually, and another instance occurs at the very next verse in יְקִירָה, rare or momentous; Gr. *Sapvus*, and so the versions.

11. —*but the gods.*—Mr. Lowth translates, “except that God, whose dwelling, &c.” and the noun, though plural, is often used singularly; see the next Chapter; yet the affix or pronoun that follows here is plural. Herodotus in his Euterpe, c. viii. speaking of the

- the king was angry and much enraged, and com-
 13 manded to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. And
 when the decree was gone forth, the wise men were
 slain, and they sought Daniel and his companions to
 be slain.
- 14 Then Daniel expostulated concerning the counsel

Egyptians has this passage, *Μαντική δε αυτοισι ωδε διακεεται, Ανθρωπων μιν ουδενι προσκεεται η τεχνη, των δε θεων μετεξετερουισι*, meaning, that the art of divination belongs only to some of the gods. The allusion is probably in this place to the demons or departed spirits, who were considered as a sort of Internuncii between the deity and mankind; receiving their information from the supreme God, or at least from reputed deities of the highest class, and conveying it during the intervals of slumber to men. See the note on Chap. i. 17.

13. *And when the decree was gone forth, the wise men were slain.*—So most of the versions, and Houbigant: But Ar. reads, And when the decree was published that the wise men should be slain, they sought, &c. Yet it seems probable that the decree was begun to be put in execution by the massacre of some of the Magi; see ver. 18. Though some think otherwise from ver. 24 and 48.

14. *Then Daniel expostulated concerning the counsel &c.*—*Recalled the Counsel and the Decree* seems the literal rendering of *עשׂא וטעם והתיב*. Gr. *απεκριθη βουλην και γωμην*. Vulg. *requisivit de lege et sententia*. If we follow our Eng. translators, we may consider the two nouns by an usual Hendiadys to signify “wise and prudent counsel;” so *rage and fury* for furious rage, c. iii. 13. and see Rev. xix. 15. but I rather think the sense I have given in the translation to be more agreeable to the true use and meaning of the words. There is however a still different sense given by De Dieu to this passage, and which agrees tolerably well with the context, “Then Daniel turned away the counsel and sentence of Arioch;” i. e. stopped or checked the decree, so far at least as it affected himself or his brethren. The Chaldee verb *התיב* corresponds with the Hebrew *השיב*, and is so translated in Cod. 240, see also Chap. iii. ver. 16. And it may be proper here to note that there is a frequent change of letters uniformly observed in the two languages: Thus the Hebrew *ש* as in the present instance, and at ver. 7, becomes the Chaldee *ת*; and so again *איתי* for *יש* at ver. 26, the *י* is a *ך*, as *כרבה* for *זובה*

and decree with Arioch the captain of the king's guard, who had gone forth to slay the wise men of
 15 Babylon: He spoke thus to Arioch the king's captain,
 Wherefore is the decree so urgent from the king?
 16 Then Arioch made known the matter to Daniel. So
 Daniel went up and asked of the king, that he would

at ver. 9, זרעוהי for דרעוהי, as three MSS. read at ver. 32, and דהב for זהב; the ז an ע, as in ארעא for ארצה; the ה final almost every where an א, and the ם a ן: The א also is often used for the plural ם or ן final: see the note at ver. 5. This observation may perhaps have its use in helping to understand rightly some words that may be found in the books written in, or after the times of the Babylonish captivity.

—*captain of the king's guard.*—Literally, chief of the King's executioners. Gr. ἀρχιμαγειρω: the chief butcher. The term מבוזיא רב may probably mean, the leader of the guard appointed for capital punishments. Nor does this office seem to have been at all infamous; for Arioch had free access to the King, as we find at ver. 25, see also 1 Sam. xv. 33. And perhaps his office might be to execute any of the King's commands on his subjects, whether they related to honour or dishonour, to life or to death. The same title is given to Nebuzaradan, in 2 Kings, xxv. 8, and from the character of the commander, it seems to mean a person of the first authority over the soldiery. Mr. Bruce, in the passage above quoted, at ver. 5, speaks of an officer, called the executioner of the camp, whose business it was to attend at capital punishments; and this officer belonged only to a detachment of the royal Abyssinian army.

15. *He spoke thus.*—Chald. answered and said: so at Chap. iii. 9, and many other places. But Gr. and Syr. omit these words here, and Gr. reads the next words in the vocative case, Ἀρχων του βασιλεως. Yet MS. Pachom. and some other copies come nearer the Chaldee.

—*wherefore is the decree so urgent.*—Chald. מהחצפה, hasty and pressing, so Syr. Gr. has ἡ ἀναίδης. tam crudelis: Jerom. Atrox decretum: Houbigant. But one MS. reads מהחצפה transposing the letters פ and פ, "Why is the law or decree agreeable to the King," or his delight? which is not a bad sense.

16. *So Daniel went up.*—That is, either to the palace or throne of the King, as at v. 25; or else the expression may only relate to the

- allow him time, to shew the king even the interpretation. Then Daniel went away to his house, and made known the matter to Hananiah, Mishael, and Hazzariah, his companions: That they should implore mercies of the God of Heaven concerning this secret, that they might not destroy Daniel and his companions with the residue of the wise men of Babylon. Then was the secret revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night; wherefore Daniel blessed the God of heaven. Daniel spoke thus, Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever; for wisdom and power are his. And

superior station, in which even the messenger was then considered; and accordingly MS. Pachom. instead of βασιλεα reads ηξιωσε Αριωχ; the meaning seems to be, he requested the King through Arioch, or by his intervention.

18 — *this secret.*—The word אר in Chald. seems to have the same sense with μυστηριον in the Gr. Interpreter, and denotes any thing that is unknown. Many useful observations might be drawn from this passage on the nature, the efficacy, and the rewards of devotion, on the power and prevalency of united addresses to heaven, and the important benefits which the piety of a few holy men may sometimes bring down upon a multitude: but though it might be improper to leave altogether unnoticed improvements of this sort, yet they must be so obvious to every attentive reader, that it is sufficient barely to mention them.

20. *Daniel spoke thus.*—Vulg. Locutus ait, see Deut. xxvi. 5. The idiom of the latter part of this verse is somewhat peculiar: That the auxiliary verb should be used in the infinitive mood instead of the future tense is quite agreeable to the Chaldee manner; but the second particle וי seems redundant as well as the pronoun at the end, unless we read with many MSS. דניא for דניא, quæ sunt illi ipsi, by way of emphasis.

In the latter part of this and the three next verses the prophet has celebrated the praises of the Almighty in a simple, but truly sublime and animated strain of warm and unaffected piety, has made especial mention of his wisdom and power, and illustrated the display of those attributes in several instances apposite to the subject and occasion.

- He changeth the times and the seasons ; He removeth kings and establisheth kings ; He giveth wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to those that improve in understanding : He revealeth things deep and secret ; He knoweth what is in the darkness ; for the light abideth with him. Thee, O God of my fathers, I acknowledge and I praise ; for thou hast given me wisdom and strength, and hast now made known unto me that which we asked of thee, for the matter of the king hast thou made known unto us.
- 24 Therefore Daniel went up unto Arioch, whom the king had appointed to destroy the wise men of Babylon ; he went and thus spoke unto him, Destroy not the wise men of Babylon, introduce me before the king, and I will shew the king the interpretation.
- 25 Then Arioch very speedily introduced Daniel before

21. —*and knowledge to those that improve in understanding.*—Vul. Gr. and Syr. seem to agree in rendering “and prudence to those that are acquainted with discipline ;” those who improve their natural powers will find them blessed and increased ; or we may render, “and skill to those that know understanding,” that is, who have the only true understanding (according to Job, xxviii. 28.) the knowledge and fear of God.

22. —*for the light abideth with him.*—Syr. and Ar. “the light is in his power ;” or, by light we may understand illumination, and then the sense may be, He knoweth what is in darkness ; for it is in his power to illumine it. See Ephes. v. 13, 1 Cor. iv. 5, and also 1 Tim. vi. 16.

23. —*hast now made known unto me.*—The discovery was probably made to Daniel only, in a night vision or dream, though at the joint intercession of himself and friends. See ver. 19.

24. —*Daniel went up unto Arioch.*—Ten MSS. omit the second ^ב in this verse, and one reads ^ב before Arioch. Also one omits, with Gr. and Vulg. the word ^ב afterwards ; there seems a redundancy somewhere. Perhaps the true reading should be rendered thus, Daniel went up to Arioch—and thus spoke to him.

25. *Then Arioch very speedily introduced Daniel.*—So Syr. In

- the king, and thus spoke unto him, I have found a man of the captives of Judah, who will make known
 26 the interpretation to the king. The king answering spoke to Daniel, whose name is Belteshazzar, Art thou able to make known unto me the dream which I have
 27 seen, and the interpretation of it? Daniel answered before the king thus, The secret which the king asketh, the wise men, the magicians, the sooth-sayers,
 28 the diviners are not able to shew unto the king. But

Chaldee the noun for *very speedily* is derived from the conjugation Ithp. and has a sort of reiterated signification: see Chap. iii. 24. The term *Captives* in the latter part of the verse is in the original, *the sons* or *the children of the captivity*: The like periphrasis, which is common in other languages, is constantly found in Scripture, and has sometimes a sort of elegance or propriety, which may make it expedient to be followed in a translation.

26. — *Art thou able.*—The latter Jod in *האיתך* seems redundant, and is omitted in many MSS. and among the rest in the ancient Bodleian. The participle *כזהל* is of the same import with *יכל* or *יכול* in the Heb. *able*, and is only to be met with in the present form here, and at the 5th chapter of this book.

27. — *the diviners.*—Gr. retains the original *γαῖαρηνον*. The word *גורין* from *גור* to cut, is thought by some to signify either the aruspices, who by cutting open examined the liver and entrails of beasts; or by others those diviners, who by the disposition and combination of numbers made amulets or charms, by which they pretended to foretel future events. R. Jacchiades favours the latter opinion, supposing the aruspices were scarcely known in the East, and thus he thinks the word may be synonymous to the Chaldeans; and one MS. reads *כשראין*. However, as the word is joined with Chasdim in two or three places afterwards in this book, it certainly has a distinct meaning from it.

Some will derive it from *גור* *decernere*, and understand it for the keepers of the decrees: or perhaps it may rather mean from this etymology a sort of diviners by arrows, which was a mode very common in the East; and the practice was thus: Names or words were written on certain arrows without heads kept for the purpose in an idol temple; on one arrow the thing was *commanded*, on another *pro-*

there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, who hath been making known to king Nebuchadnezzar what is to be in the latter days. Thy dream, or the visions of thy head upon thy bed, is this.

- 29 To thee, O king, thy thoughts arose upon thy bed, as to what should be hereafter, and he that revealeth

hibited, and a third was *blank*. These were shaken together in some vessel set before the idol; and according to the direction of the first drawn arrow, the measure was taken, whether it commanded or prohibited the matter divined about, or which of two things was first to be done. See Ezek. xxi. 21. Symmach. has *ευρας* or *εβας*, intimating that they were the Thyades of Bacchus, and Bochart thinks that the worship of Bacchus originated in Assyria, and thence was spread through Syria and Phœnicia into Greece. See Chan. p. 479.

28. —*or the visions—is this*.—Two MSS. read ודזוזא in the sing. “and the vision, &c.” the pronoun at the end of the ver. is singular.

29. —*thy thoughts*.—רעיוניך. Recte Masora רעיוונך ex forma Chald. plural. So לעבדך ad. ver. 4, et alibi. Houbigant.

—*he that revealeth secrets hath made known unto thee what is to be*.—Daniel’s great modesty in disclaiming all merit or extraordinary wisdom on his part, and yet his skill and dexterity in preparing the King’s attention, and gradually opening his understanding to the reception of the truth, and the acknowledgment of the one true God, are very remarkable. The expression in this verse, “what was to be hereafter,” or דנה אחר, indicates what was the subject of the King’s thoughts upon his bed, which was afterwards worked up into the following dream. But some will have this expression to be of the same import with that in the former verse יומיא אחרית, in “the latter days:” and there are perhaps some instances in Scripture, where the latter term seems only to mean futurity in general, as Gen. xlix. 1, Deut. iv. 30. But it is also evident that *the latter days* mean the times of the Messiah, as in Isai. ii. 2, and indeed this is universally the sense when it is used by the prophets, and Kimchi will understand it so in every other part of scripture. See Bishop Lowth and Mr. Lowth on the last cited passage. If we consider the extent of the following vision, and the manifest allusion therein to the times of the Messiah, and compare the use and connexion of the expression in

- secrets hath made known unto thee what is to be.
- 30 But as to me, not through any wisdom in me above all living was this secret revealed to me, but for the intent that the interpretation should be made known to the king, and that thou mightest know the thoughts of thy heart.
- 31 Thou, O king, wast seeing, and behold a large Image; this Image, which was so great and of eminent splendour, arose before thee, and its aspect was terrible.
- 32 This Image's head was of fine gold, his breast

this place with the like usage in other parts of Scripture, and especially in the 24th of Numbers, ver. 14—17, we shall not perhaps hesitate to what times the language ought to be referred in the case before us. The late Dr. Hurd, Lord Bishop of Worcester, has given a very full and just account of the latter times, and the distinctions relating to them in his 7th sermon at the Warb. Lect. p. 211, &c. 2d Ed. and much useful information on this subject may be gotten from Mr. Mede's *Apostasy of the last Times*, Chap. xi. xii.

30. —*that the interpretation should be made known.*—The verb יְהוֹדִיעוּן, although the third pers. plur. active, may be rendered impersonally or passively; see the like at Nehem. ii. 7, Esth. ii. 2, also at Chap. iii. and iv. and several other places in this book; and thus the versions render.

31. *Thou, O King, wast seeing, and behold a large Image.*—I follow the Chald. literally in rendering, *wast seeing*, as it indicates the continuance of the vision; the versions render also in the imperfect tense, and so the Heb. MS. 240. Two MSS. have a Vau before צִלְמָא. “*And this image,*” Sym. ἀρδρίας; but the other Gr. εἰκων.—רַבֵּן, “*which was so great.*” Several MSS. read רַי בֵּן. Heb. MS. 240, reads בֵּן, and the passage thus, *of the likeness of a man*, which was so very great and of abundant brightness, &c. Josephus has given an account of the image and its interpretation in his *Ant.* x. 10, 4.

32. *This Image's head was of fine gold.*—In the human frame, enjoying the erect posture, the higher or upper parts have always assigned to them the pre-eminence: Thus in the statue the head being the most excellent is of pure gold; and the other parts are of baser

and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of
 33 brass ; His legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part
 34 of clay. Thou wast seeing until a stone was torn out
 without hands, and struck the image upon his feet of
 35 iron and clay, and broke them in pieces. Then were
 broken in pieces as at the same time the iron, the
 clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, and were like
 the chaff of the summer threshing-floors, and the wind
 carried them away, so that no place was found for
 them ; but the stone which struck the image became a
 36 great mountain, and filled the whole earth. This is
 the dream, and the interpretation of it we will declare
 before the king.

metals, as we gradually descend toward the feet. I cannot say the poets and later mythological writers have any of them borrowed their fables of the different ages of the world, as some have thought, from this image ; since the notion was received much earlier than these times, and is mentioned by Hesiod ; but they have certainly made them in a great measure to correspond with it, so that the priority of time agrees with the superior and better parts of the image, and the golden has been the earliest age, and the iron the last.

33. — *part of iron.*—סנדהון, “Part of them.” Several MSS. agree with Keri in dropping the Vau in this word ; and so at ver. 41.

34. — *was torn out.*—The verb is in Ithp. and possibly may mean that it forced itself out : For the use of the particles לֹא יָדָהּ, *that is not with hands*, for, *without hands*, see Nold. p. 209, and for a similar expression see 2 Cor. v. 1, and Heb. ix. 11. Gr. Vulg. and Ar. translate here as at v. 45, and adopt the term, *from the mountain*. Houbigant explains thus, *Lapis prægrandis qui manu teneri non possit* ; He is commonly much happier in his expositions. See Bishop Lowth on Isai. x. 15.

35. — *the chaff of the summer threshing floors.*—The summer is rather mentioned on account of the greater lightness and more ready dispersion of the chaff in that season. See Isai. xli. 15. Bishop Lowth has given a short but curious description of the several modes of threshing in the East, in his note on Isai. xxviii. 27, 28.

- 37 Thou, O king, art a King of kings, since the God of
 heaven hath given thee a kingdom of power, and
 38 strength, and glory. And wheresoever the children
 of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of

37. *Thou, O King.*—The ה in the pronoun אנתה not only in this place and at ver. 31, but in several others is considered as redundant by Keri and many MSS. I know not whether it might not with greater propriety be here joined to the next word, as somewhat emphatical. Thou, *the* King, art a King of Kings, a mighty monarch presiding over many of the princes of the earth. See Ezek. xxvi. 7. And this is a title which Mr. Bruce tells us, Vol iii. is given to the Kings of Abyssinia at this day.

Moreover the signification of this pronoun is not to be confined to the person, as Dathius seems to intimate, but rather to intend also the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar, or the Babylonian empire; and thus in like manner at the 39th verse we read that *after thee* shall arise another kingdom, that is, not upon the death of Nebuchadnezzar, but at the translation of his empire to the Medes and Persians. And by the word King in general we are, according to an usual metonymy, to understand a kingdom in the prophetic language, as may be learnt from Chap. vii. and viii. See also a whole Chap. of Sir Isaac Newton's on this prophetic language in his Observations upon Daniel.

—*a kingdom of power, and strength and glory.*—So the Greek. But Vulg. considers all the nouns as accusatives, though there is no Vau before חסנא power. Syr. renders a powerful kingdom and glory.

38. *And wheresoever the children of men dwell.*—The participle דארינ from דיר to inhabit, according to Keri and some MSS. should be read with י instead of א; but there seems no occasion for any alteration in the text, as it only follows the usual mode of adopting the favourite Chaldee letter, which is often assumed in the middle, as well as at the beginning and end of words, wherever there is room for a change; thus we have the word קאם at ver. 31, and again at Chap. iii. ver. 3, קאמין; and this same word at Chap. iv. ver. 1. Two MSS. omit ב in the word וברכל; “And all things, wherein the sons of men dwell, the beasts of the field—hath he given into thy hand,” i. e. all places cultivated or desert within his empire: The

the heaven, hath he given into thy hand, and hath made thee to have dominion over all these: Thou art this
39 head of gold. And after thee shall arise another

word which we translate *field* properly signifies, an uncultivated waste, the pasture of wild beasts. Gr. and Ar. add, *and the fishes of the Sea*; the nouns are all singular collectives. See Jer. xxvii. 6.

It was an extensive tract of country over which the Babylonian monarch presided: For not to mention the territories of the Medes and their dependants, &c. with whom he was closely connected by affinities, the Chaldee Historian Berosus tells us, that Nebuchadnezzar held Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, and Strabo adds, Arbela, together with the territories of Babylon: The greatest part of the provinces also of the whole Assyrian empire were subject to him, and he is said to have advanced as far as Spain, insomuch that the Babylonian name was at least as widely extended as the Assyrian. See Chron. of Ancient Kingdoms, p. 324.

This being then the first empire was called the Head, and was said to be of gold, partly from the general idea that all things degenerate or sink into a worse state, and partly from the length or duration through which it is said to have continued; which was according to some near 700 years, meaning from its first establishment by Ninus to its end under Belshazzar; During the greater part of which period its wealth and flourishing state were considerable, but especially the grandeur and magnificence of Babylon its metropolis, under Nebuchadnezzar, were very great and astonishingly splendid.

39. *And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee.*—One MS. reads בתוך “in the midst of thee.” Vulg. has here the word “argenteum” after the second kingdom, and so MS. Pachom. as the word “æreum”^h is after the third. This second kingdom was that of Cyrus and his successors, or the Medo-Persic empire, denoted according to Josephus by the two arms of the image. Cyrus was descended from Mandane the daughter of Astyages king of the Medes, and Cambyses the Persian. Both these powers are directed to go against Babylon, Isai. xxi. 2, and their strength united subdued it, and established a second empire on its ruins.

Medus ademit

Assyrio, Medoque tulit moderamina Perses.

Claud. 2 Consul. lib. de Stil. 163, 164.

kingdom inferior to thee, and another, a third kingdom, of brass, which shall have dominion over all the

"These metals were anciently employed to signify allegorically the different values of different men. Plato relates a Phœnician fable to this purpose. Rep. vii. p. 414. Appian (Alex. in Præf.) says, the three great empires, the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, lasted not 900 years. And Vignoles, Vol. ii. p. 177. on this passage of Appian shews, that according to Herodotus the Median empire lasted above 150 years. The Babylonian monarchy was vastly superior to the scripture Median, if there was one, not only in duration, but probably in extent: and in splendour and greatness of works it was superior even to the Persian." Secker.

—*a third kingdom.*—Jackson in his Chron. V. i. p. 393. observes, that the prophet having just mentioned this second kingdom, with great delicacy hastens to the third, because he would not tell the king, that the second kingdom was to destroy his. This third kingdom, or that of brass, is called in Chap. viii. the kingdom of יוֹן, or Ionia, which was the Grecian kingdom; and so Homer, χαλκοχίτωνες Ἀχαιοί. It was established by Alexander of Macedonia; who subdued both Medes and Persians, after their empire had lasted about 230 years. This Prince is said by the Author of the first book of Maccabees at the beginning, "to be the first that reigned over Greece, after having smitten Darius the king of the Persians and Medes, to have made many wars, won many strong holds, and slain the kings of the earth; also to have gone through to the ends of the earth, and taken the spoils of many nations." It is reported of this mighty conqueror, that he built more than seventy cities, twelve of which, or, as Curtius intimates, eighteen, he named Alexandria; that his soldiers, though unarmed, were never afraid, while he was with them, of any armed forces. He engaged no enemy which he did not conquer, besieged no city which he did not take, and made attempts on no nation which he did not entirely subdue. But yet all would not satisfy the vast cravings of his ambition, so that the Roman satirist with great justice observed of him,

Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis:

Æstuat infelix angusto limite mundi.

Juv. Sat. 10.

See a full account of him in Arrian. l. vii. in Curt. and Joseph. Ant. xi. 8.

40 earth. And a fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron,
inasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and beateth down
all things; and like iron that bruiseeth, all these shall it
41 break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest

40. —*a fourth kingdom.*—מלכוֹ with an Apocope of ת for the femin. מלכות. See Buxt. Lex. The wider the extent of his empire, the greater may be presumed to be the pride of man; and possibly from this consideration, as well as the others, the later empires are said to be inferior, or to resemble metals of inferior value. Brass also and iron are emblems of strength and terror, and used as such in Scripture, and therefore more adapted to the rapid conquests and uninterrupted successes of the third and fourth empires.

This fourth kingdom has by the greater number of interpreters been considered to be the Roman; yet Grotius and those that follow him have explained it of the successors of Alexander, the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, who are in some respects reckoned to be as one kingdom, however divided. Those who desire to see these different opinions largely stated may consult Pool's Syn. on this place, and those who would wish for a complete refutation of the latter opinion may consult Mr. Mede's works, p. 712. where he supports by several weighty arguments the application of this kingdom to the Roman empire: see also Bishop Newton's 13th Diss.—As we shall have occasion to consider this subject again, and to speak of it more fully as we advance in this vision and in other parts of the book, I would only observe here, that the design of the vision seems to have been not only to shew the instability of human grandeur, but to point at the several powers the Church of God might have to conflict with, until the establishment of the kingdom of Christ; and that as the Grecian Monarchy was divided into four principal parts, the chief of which, as well as of the preceding empires, were subdued by the Romans, this will furnish a very just and proper meaning for the latter part of the verse before us.

—*all these.*—“אֵלֶּיךָ deest in Th. Syr. Quin et כָּל in Complut.” Secker. In the original “all these” may relate either to the iron or the kingdom; by the preceding comma I have referred it to the latter, and the versions favour this sense: But perhaps we might refer the word כָּל (if it should not be rather כָּלָא) to the former clause, and אֵלֶּיךָ to the latter, thus, “and like iron that bruiseeth all things, these shall it break in pieces and bruise.”

- the feet and the toes, partly of potter's clay, and partly of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be of the stock of the iron in it, inasmuch as thou
 42 sawest iron mixed with the testaceous clay: Also the toes of the feet, partly of iron, and partly of clay, so
-

41. —*potter's clay.*—The word פֶּחַר is found only in this place in Scripture, but it may be met with in the Targum, Isai. xxix. 16, and corresponds with the Heb. יוֹצֵר the Potter, which is also the word in Cod. 240. The division of the feet, part iron, and part clay, being voluntarily inserted ought to be attended to; but other parts of the description, which the human form requires, are not to be too rigorously insisted on; yet still allowance should be made for the oriental neglect of accuracy.

—*but there shall be of the stock.*—The word נִצְבָּתָא I have rendered agreeably to the versions, with an allusion to the vegetable kingdom, from the Chald. verb נָצַב which corresponds with the Heb. נָשַׁע *to plant*, and is constantly used for it in the Chaldee: see Cast. Lex. but Aben-Ezra and Saadiah render it “firmness,” or “hardness,” according to Buxtorf, and so it is in the translation of A. Purver. Perhaps the prophet would here allude to the iron in its rude state as it is dug out of the mines; whereas at the end of ver. 43, it must be understood in its wrought or manufactured state, or at least as extracted from the furnace.

The divided nature of this Roman kingdom may be explained either by its government under two consuls, the two legs of the image, one of which chiefly attended to the concerns of war, the other to those of peace; or perhaps may have respect only to the frequent intestine tumults and internal convulsions with which this empire was torn and shaken, and sometimes almost reduced to the brink of ruin; yet still it had always strength to recover, to tread down and subdue all its enemies. The verb לְרֹא in the infin. mood is translated by an enallage in the fut. tense, though strictly we ought to render, “so as to be.” However this sort of idiom is common in Chald. see ver. 43, Chap. iii. 18, and the note at ver. 20, of this Chapter.

42. —*the toes.*—The nouns here have a reference to the verb in the former verse, “Also thou sawest the toes, &c.” The meaning seems to be, the part of the kingdom that is in union and concord shall be strong and successful, but where it is divided and torn by

the kingdom shall in part be strong, and part of it
 43 shall be brittle. And whereas thou sawest the iron
 mixed with the testaceous clay, they shall intermix

civil dissensions, the materials will be weak, and the kingdom ruinous: But some explain the verse by the commotions and clashing that were between the secular and ecclesiastical powers, after the kingdom was divided into ten parts, answerable to the ten toes of the image.

43. *And whereas thou sawest the iron mixed with the testaceous clay.*—The ו is dropped at the beginning of this verse in some editions; but many MSS. and other editions concur with Keri in reading ורי. A finer sort of clay seems to be here meant, more adapted to the work of the potter, of which he might make vases or images. Gr. οστρακω Syr. Transl. has “testa lutea.” The proper signification of חסוף is the naked clay as first laid bare from the earth, from חשף nudavit; the word שניט I take to allude to the tempered state of the clay, when moistened and made fit for moulding; and both words together seem to have been used to denote the moulded substance baked and hardened for use; to express which I know of no better word than that which is here adopted. Iron and this brittle substance might be brought into contact or joined with each other, but they could never coalesce.

The alliances and intermarriages of the Romans with the barbarous nations seems to be understood in this verse; the latter were the clay which would not well cohere with the manufactured iron. They intermarried, but did not agree; For, as Tacitus observes, Dominandi cupido cunctis affectibus flagrantior erit. The ties of affinity or even of blood are not proof against the cravings of ambition. Whatever be the fourth kingdom, most writers agree in interpreting this verse of unsuccessful intermarriages: and it is especially observable that in the declining state of the Roman empire the intermarriages with the barbarians were frequent and distinguished, as may be learnt from the histories of the times, and the observations of Calovius; but yet the cement would not hold, so as to form any great kingdom, or prevent the impending fate of the empire.

Archbishop Secker, who commonly saw things in a very comprehensive manner, with their adjuncts, objections, and consequences, has given his sentiments largely on this fourth kingdom, as well as on

themselves with the human race, but they shall not adhere one to another, even as iron doth not intermix

the kingdom of the stone that follows it. The following extract will serve in some measure to explain his sense of the former, and another at ver. 45. that of the latter. "The kingdom of the Seleucidæ was powerful till Antiochus the Great; and this empire, which extended to India, is probably here meant, if the Roman be not. Alexander, according to the author of the Maccabees, divided his kingdom among his servants, and hence their kingdom was a continuation of his, or at least was thought so then. Arrian Hist. Ind. c. 21. makes the Macedonians and Asiatics reckon by the year of Alexander's reign. Philip Aridæus gave name to the Philippean æra, only known to Astronomers, and that after Ptolemy. Some think that the want of unity makes it necessary to consider the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ as *parts* of Alexander's kingdom, and not the fourth kingdom: and indeed their frequent wars for above 200 years must make them not to be reputed as one, who lived under different monarchs constantly, unless as from one origin. No heathen author I believe considers the successors of Alexander as constituting a different empire from the Macedonian, but as dividing that empire into parts. Dion. Halicar. in the beginning expressly represents the Macedonian empire from the first to its extinction by the Romans as one. An aggregate kingdom seems probably intended from ver. 43. Indeed the division of the kingdom and the mixing will agree admirably with the Seleucidæ, if confined to this consideration; but the two verses at Chap. xi. incline us to think otherwise; nor did the Seleucidæ, as far as appears, endeavour to make up their quarrels by intermarriages among themselves. Sulp. Sev. applies the interpretation to the Romans in the beginning of his second book, and with him "they shall mix themselves with the seed of men" is understood to mean that they shall become a mixture of nations: thus they gave the *jus civitatis* to those they conquered: and they were much more mixed by unions afterward with the barbarians. In Exod. xii. we read ערב רב, came up with them out of Egypt; and Nehem. xiii. 3. they separated כל ערב, from Israel, and the same word means "a mingled people," 1 Kings, x. 15. Jer. xxv. 20. and l. 37."

To these considerations it may be added, that Jerom hath plainly referred this kingdom to the Romans, especially on account of its weakness and need of assistance from the barbarous nations in his own

- 44 itself with clay. And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven raise up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, neither shall the kingdom devolve to another people; it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, but itself shall stand for ever:
- 45 Inasmuch as thou sawest that from the mountain was

time. Theodoret is also of the same opinion. Beside, the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ were the thighs of brass, or part of the brazen kingdom, and much weakened by their divisions, and therefore needed not a harder metal to represent them. And indeed the arguments are so powerful and cogent, particularly from the strength of the kingdom compared to iron, from the general consent of ancient writers both before and after the time of Christ for at least 300 years, and finally from the congruity of this opinion with the subsequent part of the interpretation, that we may readily concur with the determination of Mr. Mede, and consider the point as *tantum non articulus fidei*.

44. *And in the days of those kings.*—That is, kingdoms. The four kingdoms in allusion to the one image are here supposed to constitute one whole period, and the expression therefore must mean, during the continuance of the last: see ver. 34; where the stone is said to strike the feet of the image, &c. probably alluding to the unfulfilled parts of this vision.

—*neither shall the kingdom, &c.*—Vulg. Gr. and Ar. read *his* kingdom, meaning God's, or, as we read in the New Testament, "the kingdom of Heaven:" but it is observable, that many MSS. and among them the ancient Bodl. read מלכותא with א in the end: so that the ה in the present text is probably not an affix, but only the final or terminating letter, and which two MSS. have dropped. This kingdom shall not be transferred like the former ones, but shall be of a very different nature, shall crush all temporal kingdoms, and shall be universal, unchangeable, and eternal. It is remarked by Josephus, that "Daniel told the King what the stone signified," but the Historian adds, that he himself was unwilling to express it, as his intention was, to register things past, and not such as are to come. Ant. l. x. c. 10. Conviction will sometimes force its appearance, however impeded by insurmountable prejudice.

45. *Inasmuch as thou sawest, &c.*—Those who would understand this fifth kingdom to be the Roman, having explained the fourth of

torn out a stone without hands, and it broke in pieces

the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, or the Syrians and Egyptians, seem to labour very much in this part of their interpretation, are forced to allow that the Roman empire was in their sense of the vision a type of Christ, and that it crushes the other Powers and will stand for ever, because the Church of Christ was for the most part seated in this empire. But that the stone mentioned in this verse must mean Christ himself is almost universally admitted by the Jews. He is styled by the Psalmist, "the head of the corner, although the stone which the builders refused." Ps. 118. 22. See also Mat. xxi. 42. Acts iv. 11. Ephes. ii. 20. This idea is also agreeable to the prediction of Isa. Chap. xxviii. 16. "Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation;" the same is also the stone of Zech. Chap. iii. 9, which is likewise the branch alluded to in the preceding verse. It is the rock too of St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 4. "And that rock was Christ." This stone may be considered either as literally crushing all the other kingdoms, inasmuch as the preceding ones were subdued under the Roman power, and by crushing that it reduced all the rest; or, in a higher and spiritual sense, it will subdue all things, according to St. Paul's idea, 1 Cor. xv. 24. "Then cometh the end, when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power, and shall have delivered up the kingdom to God even the Father, who hath put all things under his feet." The kingdom of Christ was first established in the Roman empire; the foundation of which empire was laid after the Romans had subdued the Macedonian power where the third empire originated; and in this empire at its greatest elevation as in a mountain, *without any human assistance*, by the immediate influence of Heaven, did the Saviour of the world form his spiritual kingdom which was to last for ever; having triumphed over all principalities and powers, and continuing to exercise his sovereignty, till the whole earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord, the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.

"Jacchiades, and I believe all the Jews explain this stone now of the Messiah. Scipio tells the Romans that they would be *Masters of the World*, if they beat Hannibal, Polyb. l. xv. p. 698, and the same Polyb. saith, l. viii. p. 514, that the whole world was under their dominion, and the Rhodians say the same thing. Jerom ex-

the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold :
The great God hath made known to the king what is
to be hereafter ; for certain is the dream, and faithful
is the interpretation of it.

46 Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell on his face, and

plains "*sine manibus*," absque coitu et humano semine de utero virginali:" and the church shall be formed and prevail without human means : Christ's kingdom was not of this world. Isa. xi. 1 "the rock from whence ye were hewn," Theodoret understands of Isaac's descent from Abraham contrary to the course of nature, and that the rock in this case is David's family.—Mr. Mede considers the kingdom of Christ as *θεωθρῶπος*. See Rev. xi. 15. The distinction of the stone and of the mountain is not apparent in the image or the prophet's account ; the fall of a stone is very rapid from the top of a mountain, and must have acquired force to break the image ; yet this seems not suitable to the progress of christianity ; It grew considerably before the empire became Christian, and perhaps not in proportion since : And certainly there is room indeed for its growing vastly larger both in outward extent, and above all in inward efficacy ; and it must grow very much before it can fill the whole earth.

The Apostolical Constitutions, l. v. c. 20, having spoken of Christ as the son of man from Dan. vii. 13, speak of him from this Chapter, as the stone growing into a great mountain, and filling the whole earth ; *συντριβοντα πολυαρχιαν και πολυθειαν θεων* (al. *αθεων*) *κηρυσσοντα δε τον ενα θεον, και χειρονοντα* (fors. *χειροοντα*) *των 'Ρωμαιων μοναρχιαν.*" Secker.

—*the silver and the gold.*—Gr. Ar. and Syr. having connected the former part of this verse with verse 44, make a full stop after the word "gold," and so Mr. Mede, &c. The word *מְהִימָן* in the next clause may be considered as the participle in Aphel from the verb *הִמָּן*, and signifies "credible," or "faithful."

46. —*fell on his face.*—The King highly revered Daniel, and paid him such tokens of profound respect as were consonant to oriental manners ; Or if, as some have thought, he was inclined to worship him by falling on his face, &c., as the Lycaonians were St. Paul, Acts 14, it should seem by the next verse, that Daniel wished, as before, to direct the payment of these honours to that great power to whom alone they were due, and disclaimed all merit on his own part. Vulg.

did reverence to Daniel, and commanded to offer an
 47 oblation and grateful odours unto him. The king
 spoke thus unto Daniel, Truly your God is the God of
 gods, and Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets,
 48 since thou hast been able to reveal this secret. Then
 the king made Daniel great, and gave him many large
 presents, and appointed him to preside over the whole
 province of Babylon, and he was a chief magistrate
 49 over all the wise men of Babylon. Moreover Daniel

translates the words that follow in the next clause, "et hostias et incensum:" Gr. has "*μααα και ευωδίας*," or a cake of fine flour and grateful odours. Both perhaps understood it as a kind of sacrifice, which it probably was not: For Mr. Harmer, Vol. ii. p. 72, &c. seems to have placed this matter in a full and satisfactory light, and explained the words that countenance the idea of a sacrifice to mean Tokens or marks of respect not very uncommonly paid to men in the east. The passage is much too long to be cited.

48. —*made Daniel great.*—Ch. רבי. Syr. *amplificavit*, or *magnificavit*, the word is of the form *Pahel*, and used only in this place.

—*many large presents.*—Gr. Ar. and V. read many *and* large, and one MS. favours the *Vau*: the same versions and Cod. 240, begin the 47th verse with a *Vau*.

—*over the whole province.*—One MS. and some versions read מדינות. De Rossi. The Chaldee word מדינת or *Medina* is a name often in use among the Arabs, and by it the city of their prophet in the desert of Arabia is well known to be called at this day. At this place he was invested with regal power after his expulsion from Mecca, and from his flight to this place in the year of our Lord 622, the *Hejra* commences. Many places or considerable towns in Spain are still called by this same name, and retain this vestige of the Saracen incursions.

—*a chief magistrate.*—In this and the former Chapters we read of three chief magistrates, the master of the Eunuchs or Chamberlains רב סריסי, the Master of the Executioners or Captain of the Guard טבוחיא רב, and here the סגנין רב, or Head of the Senators, or High Chancellor. Syr. reads "over all the military commanders and all the wise men."

asked of the king, and he deputed over the care of the province of Babylon Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego; but Daniel was in the gate of the king.

49. — *Daniel asked of the king.*—His request might be justified on the score of friendship, but more especially for the sake of the church and nation of the Jews, and that he might obtain some faithful associates who should assist him in the high and slippery station to which he was advanced.

The word עבִירָתָא seems to have respect to agriculture, and the revenues arising from the cultivation of lands: and this was probably the nature of the presidency to which Shadrach, &c. were advanced: while Daniel sat *εν τη αυλη του βασιλεως*, or according to Theodoret and Syr. in the gate or court of the king, as his High Chancellor, or chief Minister of Justice and of the affairs of the state.

The following passage in Dr. Shaw's Travels may throw much light upon this situation of Daniel; Speaking of the Judicature of the Algerines he says, "all affairs of moment are laid before the Dey, or else when he is absent, or otherwise employed, they are heard by the Treasurer, Master of the Horse, and other principal Officers of the Regency, who sit constantly in the gate of the Palace for that purpose. At all these Tribunals the cause is quickly decided, nothing more being required than the proof of what is alleged, so that a matter of debt, trespass, or of the highest crimes, will be finally decided, and the sentence executed in less than an hour. And on the word "gate," he observes in a note, thus we read "of the elders in the gate;" Deut. xxii. 15, and xxv. 7; and Isa. xxix. 21. Amos v. 10, "of him that reproveth and rebuketh in the gate," &c. Ed. fol. p. 315.

CHAPTER III.

1 NEBUCHADNEZZAR the king made an Image of gold, the height of it was sixty cubits, and the breadth of it

THIS Chapter contains a History of Nebuchadnezzar's erecting an Image of Gold of an immense size, as an idol to which he expected all his empire to pay worship. Daniel's three friends refusing this worship, are cast into a furnace of fire, and by their miraculous delivery thence, the King is again brought to an acknowledgment of the one true God.

How soon this image was erected after the dream in his second year is uncertain. Gr. and Ar. begin this Chapter with "In the eighteenth year," and Dr. Prideaux agrees with them, though the words are not in the present text: But whether it happened then, or, as some think, later, the design of it probably was to frustrate the exposition, and defeat the end, of the dream; on which account perhaps the image was made wholly of gold, and not of different metals; to make an ostentatious display of the abundance of his wealth, and to obviate the jealousies of his people on account of his favours to Daniel and his friends. Some or all of these motives might probably influence this haughty and inconstant monarch to desert the true God, whom he had so lately acknowledged, and to yield again to the force of those inveterate habits, from which he had been so miraculously recovered.

This statue was probably of Bel or some of the Assyrian deities, as we may collect from verse 14. It is thought to have been hollow within, like the Colossus at Rhodes, whose height exceeded that of the statue by ten cubits: The proportion of the height seems unequal to the breadth, unless the pedestal be included therein on which it was placed. Houbigant, on account of this disparity, thinks it was rather a column or pyramid than of the human form: But Diodorus, l. ii. §. 9, tells us, that Xerxes took away an image of gold forty feet long, when he demolished the temple of Belus in Babylon, which Prideaux

- six cubits: When he had set it up in the plain of
 2 Dura in the province of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar the king sent to gather together the Princes, the Senators, and the Magistrates, the Judges, the Treasurers, the

supposes may have been this of Nebuchadnezzar. The statue of Jupiter also made by Lysippus at Tarentum is said to be forty cubits. The plain of Dura where it was erected was probably near a town called by Symmachus Dourau, and by Ptolemy Doraba; "Ammianus Marcellinus mentions Dura as not far from the place where Julian died; and in D'Anville's map of the Tigris and Euphrates it is on the Tigris, under $34\frac{1}{2}$ lat. and in Niebuhr's map of his journey (45 of vol. ii.) is Dor." Michaelis. But Jerom considers it as an inclosed place in Babylon, see Chapter i. 2, and LXX. has *περιβολον*, considering it as an appellative for a sort of circus.

1. — *When he had set it up.*—Thus the words may be rendered by the assistance of the Vau at the next verse. The like observation may illustrate the rendering in many other places, and especially at the latter end of the third and beginning of the fourth verses, where there is a Vau twice in both places. So Syr.

2. — *The Princes, the Senators, and the Magistrates &c.*—It must be very difficult at this distance of time, and perhaps impossible, to ascertain with exactness the proper titles and offices of the several characters that are here mentioned. I shall endeavour to give as just a description of them as I can, either from the form of the words, their use in other places, the opinion of commentators, or the allusion they may bear to modern offices of dignity in the East. I take the first word, with Herodotus, to be of Persian, or, rather, with Grotius, of Assyrian origin, to have been derived down through the Chaldeans to the Persians, and to answer to their Satrap, meaning probably the chief of their nobility; see Esth. ix. 3. The next word סגנאי is the same that is used at Chap. ii. 48, and probably means some of the highest officers in the state, which I have therefore rendered by "Senators." The office sustained by these persons seems to have extended to matters both military and ecclesiastical, as Castell observes on the word, and intimates that it signifies a kind of Vice-roy, or one of the first rank in either the military line, or among the Pontiffs: Perhaps it may answer to the Beys. The word that follows is con-

Counsellors, the Presidents, and all the Governors of the Provinces, to come to the dedication of the Image, 3 which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up. Then were gathered together the Princes, the Senators, and

nected with the preceding by a Vau, and we find these words joined but with their order inverted, Jer. li. 23. and again ver. 57. The פרוה was probably a Magistrate appointed to preside over a peculiar government: and the word Pacha is still retained in the East, and though varied somewhat in sound, denotes a kind of Bashaw or Governor among the Turks, Arabs, and Persians. The word ארנגוריא R. Nathan translates "Judges;" they seem to have been a kind of Guardians or Directors of the statute laws or decrees of the monarch, and are therefore rendered by the Gr. *ηγουμενοι* the chief Judges. There is an officer in the Ottoman court called the Caddilaschir, which may seem to answer to this description; the Caddilaschirs are a sort of universal Judges, that extend to all persons or causes whatsoever. The following word גרבריא "the Treasurers," is, as Grotius has observed, the same word that is so translated, Ezra i. 8. and is often found in the Chaldee; and by changing the kindred letter ר for ז, they may be the *γαζοφοροι* of the Greeks, and may answer to the Ottoman "Defterdars." דתבריא which follows may be derived from דת the law, and ברר to purify, and probably signifies the most distinguished counsellors or professors of the law. The next word תפתיא is omitted by Vulg. but coming from the verb פתה to *persuade*, is by some supposed to have been given to persons of very high characters for knowledge and wisdom; and the Mufti or sovereign Pontiff among the Turks seems to have derived his name from a similar source in the Arabic language. But Houbigant calls these last "Janitores," which he considers as a very high office, and sustained by Daniel himself. See Chap. ii. 49. R. Jacchiades has illustrated, or rather applied all these characters to similar offices in the Turkish empire; an account of which may be seen in Grotius: see also Habesci's present state of the Ottoman empire.

3. *Then were gathered together.*—The design of calling all these officers of every nation and language in the whole empire together, seems to have been chiefly to ensnare Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; for those that presided over lesser districts were also summoned to the dedication; *eis ta eykavia*. Th. See John x. 22.

- the Magistrates, the Judges, the Treasurers, the Counsellors, the Presidents, and all the Governors of the Provinces unto the dedication of the Image which
- 4 Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up. And when they stood before the Image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up, a herald proclaimed aloud, To you it is spoken,
- 5 peoples, nations, and languages : At the time when ye shall hear the sound of the cornet, pipe, harp, sackbut,

4. —to you it is spoken.—So Syr. See Chap. iv. 31. and the note on Chap. ii. 30. Syr. also connects this verse with the latter part of the preceding, as I have translated.

5. —the sound of the cornet, pipe &c.—Of several of the musical instruments mentioned in this verse, we may form some idea from the correspondency of the original Chaldee words with musical instruments now well known. Thus, קרנא the cornet, משרוקיתא the flute or pipe, from שרק to hiss or whistle, not unlike the Greek *συριζω* fistula cano ; קיתרס the same word, and perhaps instrument, with the Cithara, which Dr. Shaw tells us is called Quetara among the Moors, and they have several guitars of different sizes, each of them tuned an octave higher than another ; to some one of the softer sort Horace seems to allude, B. i. Ode 15.

—————Grataque fæminis

Imbelli cithara carmina divides.

But Secker observes that in the Targ. Isai. v. 12. קתרס answers to תוף. Chandler thinks it might be called Kithar, because of citron wood, whence made, as the next word might be from Sambuc or the elder. As to the two former words, Mr. Harmer has an extract from Dr. Russell, which he thinks may serve to illustrate them. "The music of Aleppo is of two sorts, one for the field, the other for the chamber. The first makes part of the retinue of the Bashaws and other great military officers, and is used also in their garrisons. It consists of a sort of haut-boy, shorter but shriller than ours ; trumpets, cymbals, large drums, the upper head of which is beat upon with a heavy drum-stick, the lower with a small switch : Beside these, they have small drums, beat after the manner of our kettle-drums." The two first of these in an inverted order he refers to the terms above-mentioned.

The word סַבְכָּא, or Sambuca, according to the Greek pronunciation, is of Syrian origin, and means a sort of triangular instrument with four strings in use among the Syrian women, as Grotius thinks. If this be its description, it is more of a kind of lyre than we commonly understand by the sackbut, which is a wind instrument of the trumpet kind, or tuba ductilis, capable of being drawn out in a greater or less degree, according to the tone required, whether grave or acute. Indeed Bochart in Chan. p. 808, tells us, this instrument, the Sab-buca, was called Lyrophœnix, or Phœnician Lyre, as being an invention of the Phœnicians or Syrians. The פסנתרין or Psaltery is thought to have been the נַבֵּל or Nablium of the Hebrews; which Josephus says, was an instrument of twelve sounds played upon with the fingers, and turned in playing with both hands; whence Ovid has observed,

Disce etiam duplici genalia nablia palma
Vertere, conveniunt dulcibus illa modis.

De Arte Am. lib. iii.

But some copies read *Verrere*; according to the expression of Mr. Pope in his Cæcilia,

—————And *brush* the sounding lyre.

Chrysostom and most of the fathers consider the Psaltery as a kind of stringed instrument, and not much unlike the Cithara.—“It occurs nowhere else in the Bible. Cast. doth not mention it as Targ. Talm. or Rabb. word. Syr. omits it, as often hard words; it seems a foreign word. Athenæus, lib. xiv. in Mich. says, its ancient name was Magadis. Its form gave it the name *μαγανον*; and there were *επταγωνα*.” Secker.

The last instrument that is mentioned is the סִמְפֹּנִיָּה Symphonia, which Castell and others consider as a sort of organ. Servius on the 11th Æn. calls it “tibia obliqua,” sive *πλαγυαλος*: Others will have it to be a kind of drum played upon with sticks, which according to the different parts that were struck occasioned an agreeable variety of sounds. Dr. Shaw has an observation on the Turkish music, which I cannot forbear transcribing, as it may throw some light on the two last instruments, though I do not conceive it will describe them exactly. “The Turks chiefly make use of two instruments, whereof the one is like a long-necked Kit, played upon with a bow like the Nebebb or Violin of two strings; the other which is in the fashion of our Dulcimer, with brass strings, is touched sometimes with the finger, sometimes with two small sticks, or else with a plectrum.”

psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music, ye shall fall down and worship the image of gold which Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up; And whosoever shall not fall down and worship, in the same hour shall be cast

“L’Empereur interprets it, *Symphonia e conjunctis fistulis*. Drusius in his fragments of the old versions cites Elias in his interpretation of Chald. words as saying, that it is the name of a musical instrument, called in Italian *Symphonia*, and in German *Lier*, i. e. *Lyra*, from Montf. See Luke xv. 25.—Polybius, lib. xxvi. mentions *συμφωνίας* as to what Antiochus danced. Ellis in his *Fortuita Sacra*, p. 372, quotes Isidore with Grotius, and adds, *antea dixerat, Tympanum fuisse pellem, vel corium ligno ex una parte extensum. Est enim, ait, pars media Symphoniz in similitudinem cribi. Michaelis inclines to the reading of Cethib, ver. 10, and makes it σιφων, possibly from צֶבֶב, 1 Kings vi. 9. But Keri seems preferable.” Seeker.*

Mr. Bruce, in his first Vol. has two beautiful plates of a sort of Cithara or Harp, which he discovered in a cave of the Troglodytes near or at the situation of ancient Thebes in Upper Egypt. Of these, Dr. Burney in his *History of Music* has given an account in a letter from Mr. Bruce; but though the Doctor in the same first Vol. has one whole Chapter on the music of the ancient Hebrews, yet he only enumerates the names of these instruments before us, by quoting the verse; and probably in his researches could not meet with sufficient data to explain them in a satisfactory manner.

As to the names themselves, however they may resemble the Greek, and may be supposed to be borrowed thence, yet Bishop Chandler has given us reason to conclude, that they sprung rather from the Asiatic languages, and were adopted by the Greeks therefrom; or if the former opinion be allowed, he has shewn that it may fairly be accounted for without any imputation on the authenticity or early date of this book. See his *Vind. of Def. Vol. i.* see likewise Shaw’s *Travels*, p. 270, and Harmer’s *Observations*, Vol. i. p. 416. Calmet thinks some of the instruments passed from the East into Greece, with their names.

6. —*fall down and worship.*—Christians are directed to worship with the body as well as the spirit. 1 Cor. vi. 20; 1 Thess. v. 23, so Ps. xcvi. 6. It is agreeable to natural light as well as to the revealed will of God, that the whole man should be holy to the Lord. But

- 7 into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. Therefore at the time when all the peoples heard the sound of the cornet, pipe, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of music, all the peoples, nations, and languages, falling down worshipped the image of gold which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.
- 8 Immediately hereupon certain Chaldeans came near,
 9 and set forth invidious accusations against Jews. They spoke thus to king Nebuchadnezzar; O king, live for
 10 ever: Thou, O king, hast made a decree, that every man, upon hearing the sound of the cornet, pipe, harp,

Jerom observes, that "falling down" is applied in Scripture rather to Idols than to the true God. See Mat. iv. 9.

7. —*Psaltery*.—"And Dulcimer" follows, in several MSS. V. Syr. MS. Pachom. and some Edit. of the Greek. I know not whether it be by design or mistake, but this whole verse is omitted in Cod. 240, at the bottom of Dr. Kennicott's Bible.

8. —*set forth invidious accusations*.—Openly to accuse. Houb. The verb אכל properly signifies "to eat or devour;" but in Chald. when joined with קרץ it signifies "to accuse or criminate:" the proper signification of the latter word is "to cut," and also "to nod, or wink with the eye; and as by these signs it is that false accusers confirm their charges, so the noun is hence used for a false accusation. The like idiom is observable in other languages; proscindere aliquem, and to wound the reputation of a person, are expressions somewhat similar, but perhaps less forcible than אכל קרצי, to accuse or devour with invidious and unjust charges. The phrase is often to be met with in the Targum, and recurs at Chap. vi. 24, and is used in this sense in Heb. Cod. 240. See Cast. Lex. and Lev. xix. 16.

9. —*O king, live for ever*.—See Chap. ii. ver. 4, and on Chap. vi. 21.

10. —*upon hearing &c.*—Though the verbs are future, yet I have followed Syr. and rendered them in this and the next verse, in the imperfect subjunctive. A. Purver renders here, "and a Concert of all kinds of Music." It is generally thought the ancient Asiatic nations knew nothing of counterpoint; and without it a variety of instruments how great soever can scarce justify the needless introduction of the modern word *Concert* to express their combined effect.

- sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of music,
 11 should fall down and worship the image of gold: And
 whosoever would not fall down and worship, should be
 12 cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. Here
 are certain Jews, whom thou hast set over the business
 of the province of Babylon, Shadrach, Meshach, and
 Abéd-nego; these men pay no regard to thee, O king:

11. — *burning fiery furnace.*—Another cruel method of punishment among the Chaldeans. See Jer. xxix. 22. Burning alive is still inflicted, as Shaw tells us, on Jews and Christians for capital crimes at Algiers. See also Ps. xxi. 9. Mr. Bruce, Vol. i. p. 516, has given us the following narrative: “Phineas, an Arabian Prince from Medina, having beat St. Aretas the governor of Najiran, began to persecute the Christians by a new species of cruelty; by ordering certain furnaces or pits full of fire to be prepared, into which he threw as many of the inhabitants of Najiran as refused to renounce Christianity. Mohammed in his Koran mentions this tyrant by the name of the Master of the fiery pits, without either condemning or praising the execution; only saying, the sufferers shall witness against him at the last day.

12. — *pay no regard.*—The word טעם properly signifies “the taste,” and in a metaphorical sense denotes, Regard, Counsel, a Sentence, or Edict; see Cast. Lex. The expression should seem here to mean, as at Chap. vi. ver. 13, “they had paid no regard;” so Syr. and Cod. 240, but at ver. 10 and 29 it must mean “an Edict, or Decree;” and even here it may be thought that the same sense which the word has at the 10th verse should belong to it at the 12th; and Gr. Ar. V. and our old Eng. Transl. read, “have not regarded thy decree.” Yet the sense of the passage is not materially affected in either case. See Chap. ii. 14.

In this last cited place the Gr. Interpreter has rendered the word טעם by γνώμη; and both words have probably the same general signification, and may often serve to illustrate each other. And if this be admitted, we may be furnished with a much more forcible as well as satisfactory sense for the Gr. word in 1 Cor. vii. 25, where the Apostle observes, that though he has no command or injunction ἐπιταγή from the Lord, yet he gives his γνώμη, his sentence or decree, as a faithful minister and highly-favoured Apostle of Christ. By this

- they revere not thy gods, nor worship the image of
 13 gold which thou hast set up. Then Nebuchadnezzar
 in rage and fury commanded to bring up Shadrach,
 Meshach, and Abed-nego; wherefore these men were
 14 brought up before the king. Nebuchadnezzar spoke
 thus to them, Is it insultingly, Shadrach, Meshach, and
 Abed-nego, that ye do not revere my gods, nor worship
 15 the image of gold which I have set up? Now if ye are
 ready, that at the time when ye shall hear the sound of
 the cornet, pipe, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer,
 and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the
 image which I have made, well; but if ye worship not,

sense the objection to inspiration, from the occasional exercise of the sacred writer's opinion only, will vanish.

13. —*were brought up.*—The verb הֵיטִי from אָתָּה “to come to,” seems of the active form in Aphel, but according to the punctuation and the Chaldec commutation of א into י it may be considered in a passive sense.

14. —*Is it insultingly?*—The word הִצִּירָא does not occur any where else in Scripture. Some think צִרָא to be of the same signification with the Heb. צִרְיָה industria, and thus would render “Is it designedly?” Most of the versions render with our present translation, “Is it true?” Others consider the word as expressive of admiration; and thus our old translation of 1599 has, what Disorder? But the Targum uses the word מַצְטַרִי in two places for *deriding* or *insulting*, as the Chald. Paraphr. has translated, Prov. xviii. 1, and xx. 3, and therefore I have followed this sense, which seems a very good one, and expressive of the jealousy and fearful apprehensions of the King. “An malo animo?” Mr. Godwin. This last named gentleman, late of Baliol College, has left among his other books to the Bodleian Library an English Bible with his own MS. Notes on various parts of it; whence I have extracted a few remarks.

15. —*well.*—The ellipsis, though familiar in the Heb. and other ancient languages, is rather beautiful at this verse; and seems to point at the great wrath and overbearing impetuosity of this furious monarch, which is farther denoted at the close of the verse. For a like ellipsis, see Luke xiii. 9, Mat. xv. 5, 6, &c. Glass. has observed

- in the same hour ye shall be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace; And who is the God that shall
- 16 deliver you out of my hand? Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego answered thus to the king, O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not solicitous to make thee a reply
- 17 concerning this matter. Either there is our God, whom we serve, able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and from thy hand, O king, he will
- 18 deliver: Or if otherwise, be it known to thee, O king, that we will not revere thy gods, nor worship the image of gold which thou hast set up.
- 19 Then was Nebuchadnezzar filled with fury, and the aspect of his face was changed toward Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego; therefore he ordered to heat the furnace one seven times more than it was usual to

in his Philol. p. 574, that as the punishment is denounced in the latter clause of the sentence, the praise or acquiescence must be implied in the contrary clause that precedes it: and so the old Eng. Transl. reads, "Now therefore are ye &c." without any ellipsis.

16. —*not solicitous*.—So Cod. 240, but the versions chiefly following the Syriac Etymology render, "we have no occasion, or think it of no use to answer." The word פתגם "matter" at the end of this clause is the same word that occurs at Chap. iv. 17, except that in this latter place there is an Aleph at the end, which seems added by way of emphasis. The word is in appearance a compound, and perhaps of פת frustrum and גם succidit; thus denoting, a detached or decisive portion, or a distinct thing. So פתגג at Chap. i. means a portion of rich food, or of dainties.

18. —*thy Gods*.—Some render the word singularly, in reference to the one statue, but there might have been several images or hieroglyphics on the statue, and the plural seems more agreeable to the general habit of Pagan worship. Sym. has ἀνδριαντὶ χρυσῶ. At the end of the preceding verse Gr. has the word ἡμας, he will deliver us.

19.—*was changed*.—Keri and many MSS. read אשתני, which seems undoubtedly right.

—*he ordered to heat the furnace seven times more*.—Chald. "he

- 20 heat it. And he commanded men of the greatest strength amongst his forces, to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, to be cast into the burning fiery furnace.
 21 Then these men were bound in their mantles, their turbans, and their cloaks, with their vestments,

spoke and said :” But eight MSS. with the versions, drop the word ענה, “ he spoke.” A. Purver translates, “ seven times more than it had been seen to be heated. Gr. and Ar. read, that it might be heated seven times, till it might burn to the utmost “ *εις τελος*.” The like expression occurs, John xiii. 1. Christ having loved his own, loved them *εις τελος*, “ with the warmest affection and most perfect regard,” which he evinced, as it follows, by condescending even to wash their feet. And again, in 1 Thess. ii. 16.

In the next verse most of the versions omit the words די בחילה “ among his forces,” or “ of his army.”

20. — *to be cast*.—So two MSS. read the word, למירמא passively. And in the next verse Gr. Ar. and Vulg. understand the verbs in the passive sense ; but Syr. in the active : The MSS. seem rather to favour the passive : they read כפיתו and רמיאו or רמואו ; and this seems most agreeable to the idiom of the language, which must require a pronoun to be supplied twice, if the active form is preferred.

21. — *their turbans*.—Keri and Many MSS. consider the first Jod as redundant in the word פטישיון, and some editions omit it. As to the particulars of the dress of these young men, the first word seems to mean their principal garment, which hung loose and flowing down to their ankles, perhaps not unlike the Roman tunic ; and Montfaucon in his *Antiq.* Vol. iii. tells us, that the Babylonians according to Herodotus wore two tunics, one linen, that fell down as low as their feet, and the other woollen, which they wore uppermost ; upon these they also wore a Chlanidion, or kind of small cloak. The second word seems to agree in sound with the Greek *πετασος*, a sort of hat or bonnet : which had for the most part brims or margins, but narrower than those of our modern hats, and such as we sometimes see in those of Mercury, according to Montfaucon ; who tells us from Athenæus, that Alexander the Great wore the Petasus at feasts, and also *πεδλα*. The third term according to the versions, must mean their hose or high shoes, but I rather think with some Commentators,

and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.
 22 Therefore because the king's word was urgent, and the

a hood or cloak may be intended, that hung down from the head over the shoulders, not unlike the Roman pallium, and of which sort probably was our Saviour's Cloak, John xix. 23, which was woven without seam from top to bottom. Shaw tells us, that the mountain Arabs or Kabyles, who retain the primitive manners, have a cloak called a Burnoose, which seems to answer to this latter; and they have also an upper garment called Hyke, which may not much disagree with the former: "This last garment he says was six yards long, and five or six feet broad, and serves for a complete dress in the day, and for a covering at night. The last word being a general term for vestments of all sorts, may be supposed to comprehend their under garments, and all that are not recited before.—Whether the third term be understood as a cloak, or the dress of the legs or feet, Xenophon, has given us an actual exhibition in the person of Cyrus of each of the parts of dress here before us in his eighth Book of the Cyrop. p. 460. Edit. Hutch. *Επι δε τουτοις, ηδη αυτος εκ των πυλων προνφαινετο ο Κυρος εφ' αρματος, ορθην εχων την τιαραν, και χιτωνα πορφυρουν μεσολευκον, και περι τοις σκελεσιν αναξυριδας υσγινοβαφεις, και κανδυν ολοπορφυρον.*

22. —*was urgent.*—Chald. מְצַחֵם. See Chap. ii. ver. 15. If the furnace was, as is hinted at the note on ver. 11, a sort of fiery pit, we may see the greater propriety of some of the verbs used in this and the next verse, that the men were *taken up* (the verb is in Aphel from קָם to ascend) and *thrown down* into the furnace; and hence how easily the eruption might kill the persons who came too near the pit. For a confirmation of this story, and also of Daniel's escape from the Lions, at Chap. vi. see 1 Mac. Chap. ii. ver. 59, 60.

The Hymn of the three children follows after the 23d verse in Vulg. Gr. Cod. Chis. or LXX. and some other Versions, and the verses are marked accordingly; but this is generally now agreed to be a spurious production of much later date; and the necessity or occasion of it seems clearly superseded by the general thanksgiving of the King's at the 28th verse, as well as that at the beginning of the next Chapter. Nor from a review of the hymn, however pious and well designed, can we discover the usual style of Daniel, or any resemblance to the other parts of his book. I should rather refer it to some of the Apocryphal Writers, if it must be accounted ancient,

- furnace heated exceedingly, the eruption of the fire slew those men that had taken up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego : But these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego were thrown down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.
- 23 Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonished, and rose up very hastily, and thus spoke to his governors, Have we not cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? they answered thus unto the king, Certainly,
- 24 O king. He replied, Lo, I see four men loose walking in the midst of the fire, neither is there any stain upon them, and the form of the fourth is like a son of
- 25 God. Then Nebuchadnezzar approached to the mouth
- 26

but perhaps it belongs to still later times. Archbishop Secker notes thus, "Nobilius cites from Polychronius, that this Hymn was neither in the Heb. nor Syr. Bibles : Ephr. Syr. takes no notice of it ; and therefore I apprehend it to have been added in that version which he used, since his time. Jerom says it was not in the Hebrew." Mons. D'Herbelot tells us, that in the King's Library, No. 410, is a book that contains traditional predictions of the Prophet Daniel, but which are full of falsehoods, and fabricated by the Mussulmen on the foundation of the real prophecies : Many other forgeries have been attributed to Daniel. See Prelim. Diss. The versions that have received this Canticle, supply a word or two at the next verse thus, "When Nebuchadnezzar *heard them hymning* he was astonished : So the word תורה astonished, seems used in the Targum for תורה Heb. trepidavit. But the words "heard them hymning" are not in Aquila.

25. — *like a Son of God.*—Some angelic appearance ; see ver. 28, and Job i. 6. "So δ translated here, as Jerom observes. Sym. filiorum deorum. The centurion uses the phrase of *Christ*, Matt. xxvii. 54. Jerom says, that this angel was a type of Christ descending to the furnace of hell, in which the souls of just and unjust were shut up, to deliver those that were in bonds there. Perhaps that notion sprung from this text. Jacchiades also hath "an Angel of God." Secker. But Munster understanding it of Christ, observes, that he thinks it no wonder that Nebuchadnezzar saw the Son of God, when he appeared to Paul who was persecuting his Disciples. See on Chap. iv. 13.

of the burning fiery furnace, and spoke thus, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, servants of the most High God, go forth, and come near. Whereupon Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego went forth from the midst of
 27 the fire. When the Princes, the Senators, and the Magistrates, and the king's Governors, being gathered together had beheld these men, that the fire had not prevailed upon their bodies, neither was the hair of their

26. —*of the Most High.*—Keri and some MSS. read הַמֶּלֶךְ for הַמֶּלֶךְ , which is more agreeable to the Talmudists, and is thought by the Masorets to be more emphatical. So at Chap. iv. 17, but no alteration is wanting. The King speaks in the singular number of God, whom he is again brought to acknowledge.

27. —*the fire had not prevailed &c.*—The several expressions here used are meant to shew, that not the least injury was received from the fire. The expressions rise in fine order, and the climax is beautiful. The fire not only had no prevailing power over their bodies, but neither was a hair of their head burnt, nor their flowing robes singed, nor even the smell of fire had passed on them. Compare this with Isai. xliii. 2. Strabo, lib. iv. intimates, that persons inspired by the goddess Feronia passed bare-footed over burning coals without injury. So Virg. in *Æn.* xi.

medium freti pietate per ignem
 Cultores multa premunt vestigia pruna.

There is a curious passage in the 21st Chapter of the Koran, which the Commentators seem to have improved with a variety of marvellous fictions, some of which, as well as the story itself, are probably borrowed from the history before us. Abraham is reproving his father's people for idolatry; and though they seem at first convinced from his arguments, they soon relapse to their former obstinacy, and order their teacher to be burnt. "They said, burn him, and avenge your gods; if ye do this, it will be well. And when Abraham was cast into the fire, we said, O fire, be thou cold, and a preservation unto Abraham. And they sought to lay a plot against him; but we caused them to be the sufferers." Sale's Kor. Vol. ii. p. 158.

At the end of this verse MS. Alex. adds, *καὶ προσεκυνησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἑωπιὸν αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ.*

- headsinged, neither were their mantles changed, nor had
 28 the smell of fire settled upon them; Nebuchadnezzar
 spoke thus, Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach,
 and Abed-nego, who hath sent his Angel, and delivered
 his servants, because they confided in him, and have
 reversed the king's word, and delivered up their
 bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any
 29 god, but their own God. Therefore I set forth a
 decree, that whatsoever people, nation, or language,
 shall speak amiss concerning the God of Shadrach,
 Meshach, and Abed-nego, shall be torn in pieces, and
 their houses be laid into a dunghill, because there is
 no other God that can deliver after this manner.
 30 Whereupon the king advanced Shadrach, Meshach,
 and Abed-nego, in the province of Babylon.

28. —*their bodies.*—"Confer Acts xv. 26, *ψυχας.*" Secker. Gr. and Ar. add *εις πυρ* "to the fire," which is a good addition, but not necessary, nor in MS. Pachom. By reversing the king's command must be meant disannulling the effect of it.

29. —*speak amiss.*—Keri and many MSS. read *שלו* instead of *שלוש*; the word properly signifies "error." Gr. and Vulg. render it "blasphemy:" our Translators seem to have given it the true sense. Though the king was sensible that none of the Babylonian deities could deliver their worshippers, yet he dared not venture so far as to abolish the worship of them entirely.

30. —*in the province of Babylon.*—The following addition is in the Gr. and Ar. at the end of this verse, "and he advanced them, and placed them over all the Jews that were in his kingdom."

In several Versions and some Editions, the three first verses of the next Chapter are subjoined to this; and they may not unfitly belong to it, as they are farther expressive of the king's sense of the Power and Goodness of the Almighty, whom he hath been just brought to acknowledge and revere; and which Darius confesses also after a like miracle, Chap. vi. 26. But as they are more usually ascribed to the next Chapter, and are a very proper Preface to the Decree that follows, I shall here close this with our present Translation.

CHAPTER IV.

- 1 NEBUCHADNEZZAR the king to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth, Peace be
- 2 multiplied unto you. The signs and the wonders which the high God hath wrought towards me it
- 3 pleaseth me to declare. How great are his signs, and his wonders how mighty ! his kingdom is an everlasting

This Chapter contains a Decree of King Nebuchadnezzar's, and the reasons of it ; the King had again dreamed, and was at a loss for the meaning of his dream. Daniel interprets it of the deprivation and recovery of his Royal Authority : After the completion the King acknowledges the truth of the events, and praises and extols the God of Heaven. There is a change of Persons in the Chapter, which may require some little attention to prevent ambiguity. The Decree and the History are delivered in the words of Nebuchadnezzar ; the Interpretation of the Dream in the words of Daniel, and the Completion or Conclusion again in the words of the King.

1. — *Peace be multiplied unto you.*—Chald. Your peace be multiplied : An usual form of addressing the subjects of this vast empire. See Chap. vi. 25. Cod. Chis. begins this Chapter with " In the 18th year," which words Theodotion has prefixed to the last : There are also many other variations, such as omissions of whole verses, and very large additions in this part of that Roman version, insomuch that it has often the appearance of a Paraphrase or Commentary.

3. *How great are his signs &c.*—The King's repeated experience had extorted from him the sublime confession contained in this verse ; the latter part of which is a fine display of the infinite power and dominion of the true God. I have in these verses, and many other instances, as nearly as I could, followed the order of the original words in my translation, in which there appears to me to be often

kingdom, and his dominion from generation to generation.

- 4 I Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in my house, and
 5 flourishing in my palace. I saw a dream, which
 affrighted me, and the thoughts upon my bed, and the
 6 visions of my head disturbed me. Therefore I set
 forth a decree, to introduce before me all the wise
 men of Babylon, that they might make known unto
 7 me the interpretation of the dream. Then came in
 the soothsayers, the magicians, the astrologers, and
 the diviners; and when I related the dream before
 them, the interpretation of it they could not make

something so striking, and so expressive of the elegance and character of the Eastern style, that it ought to be preserved.

4. *I Nebuchadnezzar was at ease.*—The words רענן and שלח "at ease" and "flourishing," denote such a kind of tranquil and secure state as is the usual result of uninterrupted prosperity and abundance. The simplicity and energy of the few words contained in this verse are admirable. The king had finished all his wars, magnificently decorated his imperial city, and was now in the meridian of his highest enjoyments; or settled with the utmost tranquillity in his house, and with the most pompous and flourishing state in his palace; when, as at the next verse, he saw a dream, which affrighted him.

Anna soror, quæ me suspensam insomnia terrent?

Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 9.

6. —*I set forth a decree.*—Or, I issued a mandate. See Chap. iii. 29, and vi. 26.

7. *Then came in.*—Ch. עָלִין. Keri and several MSS. consider one of the Lameds as redundant both here, and at verse 8 of Chap. v. But there is no occasion for any alteration if we derive the word from the Chaldee עָלָה, which signifies "to approach, or enter." From the same root also may come the word לְהוֹנֵעַלָה in the last verse, with both characteristics, of the tense and of the conjugation. It may not be amiss to observe here, that though the Nun is commonly a rejected letter in the Hebrew language, yet it meets with more favour among the Chaldeans, as the sound was probably less ungrateful to their ears.

8 known unto me. But at the last came in before me Daniel, whose name is Belteshazzar, according to the name of my god, and since the spirit of the holy God is in him, thus the dream I related before him.

9 O Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, because I

8. *But at the last.*—וְעַר אֶחָדִין. Many MSS. read אֶחָדִין with Keri, dropping the Jod. Taylor points out two places, where the word is used for *alius* in this book. Vulg. renders the word “Collega,” and Secker thinks that Jerom found *εταπος* for *ερεπος* in his Greek copy, as *ai* and *ε* are often confounded. Aqu. and Sym. seem to follow this reading; MS. Pachom. has *ερεπος*; but Gr. Ar. and Syr. rather consider it as an adverb.

—*since the Spirit of the holy God.*—דִּי “since.” See Noldius. Gr. and Ar. have *Θεου* in this verse and the next, and the words are capable doubtless of a singular sense; see note on Chap. ii. 11, and many passages in Chap. iii. but Vulg. and Syr. render plurally. However it must be presumed, that this King had now the one true God in his mind.

9. —*Belteshazzar, chief of the Magicians.*—Belteshazzar according to the name of Bel or Baal; see on Chap. i. 7. That he was superior to, or placed as a governor over all the Magi or wise men, see on Chap. ii. 48, and also on Chap. i. 20.

Whether the religion of the Magi properly so called was received among the Babylonians is perhaps not altogether certain; but I have followed our Translators in adopting the word “Magicians,” as supposing it to comprehend all the enchanters or diviners of every sort. The Magians or worshippers of fire were first established in Persia, and their tenets have been fully explained by Dr. Hyde in his account of the religion of the ancient Persians. Dr. Prideaux likewise speaking of them says, that their sect was propagated only in Persia and India, and that they remain there even to this day. But it is not improbable that their principles were well known also, and partly received, in Chaldea and Babylon, especially as these nations were immersed in all sorts of superstitions; and the name of *Μαγοι* seems to have belonged to the countries of the East in general. Their chief doctrine of the two principles, one the cause of all the good, and the other of all the evil in the world, or God and the Devil, is what Manes the heretic would have introduced from them into the

- know that the spirit of the holy God is in thee, and no secret is difficult to thee, declare the visions of my dream which I saw, even the interpretation thereof.
- 10 This were the Visions of my head upon my bed: I was seeing, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth,
- 11 whose height was very great. The tree grew and was

Christian religion, it being the principal point which the Manichean Heresy endeavoured to impose on the world. See Prid. Con. B. iii. and again B. iv. and Pearson on the Creed, Art. i. p. 64.

—*no secret is difficult to thee.*—In Chald. the word סוד signifies “to press hard,” and is only used in this place, and Esth. i. 8, but is often to be found in the Targum according to this sense. Gr. renders “impossible,” and it plainly means that no secret was perplexing to him, or above his skill.

—*declare the visions, &c.*—Gr. and Ar. read, “attend to the vision of my dream, which I saw, and declare the interpretation thereof.” This seems the more just sense, but whether there is a word dropped, or the original will allow of such an ellipsis, I cannot determine.

10. —*in the midst of the earth.*—Meant perhaps as a centre from which the extensive circuit of his empire was described. The Sovereigns of the world are often represented by large trees in the language of other countries as well as in the prophetic language of the Hebrews. Princes are also considered as the branches, the leaves as the soldiery, the fruits as the annual produce, and the shadow as the protection, which men may receive under government.

11. *The tree grew.*—Or, we may render, “the tree was great and strong;” and by its *aspect* must be understood its breadth or extent. The description of this tree, as well as the derivation of the word אילנה may agree with אלה or the oak; the Hyperbole at this verse however great, is not unusual. Οὐρανομνητης is a term well known, and Virgil in his description of Fame says,

Parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras,
Ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.

Æn. iv.

Which is almost an exact copy of Homer's *Eps* or Discord in the fourth Iliad.

- strong, and the height of it reached to heaven, and the aspect of it to the end of the whole earth:
- 12 The foliage of it was beautiful, and the fruit of it plentiful, and food for all was on it; under its shade dwelt the beasts of the field, and in its branches lodged
- 13 the fowls of heaven, and of it was all flesh fed. I was seeing in the visions of my head upon my bed, and behold, a watcher even a holy one descending from hea-

Grotius takes notice of a dream somewhat similar to this, which Herodotus in his Polyhymnia relates to have happened to Xerxes, who thought himself crowned with the foliage of a laurel, and that the branches of the laurel were extended over the whole earth. But the finest description of this kind to be met with perhaps in any author is, what we read in the Prophet Ezekiel of the Cedar of Libanus, Chap. xxxi. 3, where the images allude to the King of Assyria in their retrospect, but at the same time look forward to the King of Egypt. - I shall not transcribe the passage, but refer the reader to Bishop Newcome's Translation and Notes on the place and also to the tenth Prelection on the Hebrew Poetry. "*Cedrus illa Libani recta, procera, florentissima, nubibus inserens cacumen, sed excisa tandem et derelicta, Regis Ægyptii gloriam et occasum quasi tabula depictum exhibens.*" In this same Prelection will be found many useful observations on the changes of images, tenses and persons, in the free style of the Scripture Parables and Allegories, which may be necessary to the right understanding of the present vision, as well as several others in this book.

13. — *a watcher.*—So the word עִיר is rendered by most of the Versions from עוֹר evigilare; but some Commentators consider the Aijn as put for Tzere, according to Chaldee usage, and translate the word צִיר a messenger. The meaning seems to be that an Angel, described either by his character of watching, or as a divine legate (see Ps. ciii. 20, 21,) came down from Heaven; and the other term וְקָדִישׁ, "even a holy one," or "select one," though often given to the Angels in Scripture, is perhaps here used to denote, that he was one of a higher order, deputed for this purpose; possibly the Angel of the Covenant, who seems to have been meant at Chap. iii. 25. The Greek is εἰρ, from whence Iris according to Jerom. "The word אִיר as it is written in the Hebrew at Job xxxvi. 30, LXX translate in a

- 14 ven: He cried aloud, and thus he spoke, Hew down the tree and cut off its branches, shake off its foliage, and scatter its fruit; let the beasts wander from under
 15 it, and the fowls from its branches; Nevertheless the stump of his roots leave in the ground, and with a band of iron and brass, with the tender grass of the field by

more ancient Alexandrine copy, by *τοξον* a Bow; Origen here reads *Irin*. Scholium Græc. apud Montfaucon docet *τους ὁ* legisse *αγγελος* pro *εγγηγορος*." Secker.

14. —*Hew down*.—The address may be considered as to any of those creatures animate or inanimate, that are to fulfil the Creator's Will; or the expressions may mean the same as a denunciation in the future tense, "it shall be cut down, and its leaves shaken off, &c." Yet the stump shall remain, that is, either his proper shape and mind, or rather, his kingdom shall revert to him. See ver. 26.

15. —*with the tender grass, &c.*—The MSS. labour much at this part of the verse, but scarce help us. The Greek interpreter seems to have found *יִרְטֹבֵץ* "he shall lie down," instead of *יִצְטָבֵעַ* "he shall be moistened:" I have given the best sense I can of the words as they now stand, but very much suspect the text is faulty. See on ver.

23. Grotius thinks a word is wanting here. Our Translation of 1599 renders, "and with a band of iron and brass *bind it* among the grass of the field." If there was sufficient authority, I should be inclined to drop the Daleth in the word *בִּרְתָּא*, and read, "with the wild ox of the field, even by the dew of Heaven shall he be moistened." See ver. 25 and 33. Or perhaps the Daleth is part of the particle *וְ*, which is often little more than an expletive; see Chap. v. ver. 2, 3, 13, &c. and twelve or thirteen MSS. read *בִּרְתָּא* or with *וְ* at the end instead of *א*, and the particle *וְ* is frequently joined in the MSS. to its following Noun. Cod. Chis. renders, "that with the beasts of the earth on the mountains it may feed upon grass *like the ox*." This seems to correspond with the idea of his being bound with a chain as in a savage state. Bochart describes the Buffalo or wild Ox as a sullen, malevolent, spiteful animal, attacking the unwary traveller with great fierceness. See Taylor's Concor. on the word *תָּאֵה*. Though these fierce animals are for the most part found in Africa, yet Pliny observes, p. 142, that wild oxen were to be met with in ancient Scythia, and therefore probably on the Armenian mountains, not far

the dew of heaven he shall also be moistened, and with the beasts shall be his portion in the grass of the earth:
 16 His heart shall be changed from the human, and the

from Babylonia. The females were probably less shy, and more easily tamed than the males. Mr. Bruce observes, that in Abyssinia the Buffalo is the most ferocious animal in that part of the country where he resides; and yet that in Egypt it is the only one kept for giving milk; and that they are governed by children of ten years old without any apprehension of danger, though apparently of the same species with the Ethiopian. Vol. v. p. 82. And Thevenot gives us a curious account of an use that was made of them on the Tigris, which he observed in his voyage from Mosul to Bagdad. I saw, says he, an experiment of the dexterity the people of the country have to cross the water without a bridge. I perceived forty or fifty Shebuffles driven by a boy stark naked, who came to sell their milk; these Buffles took the water, and swam in a square body; the little boy stood upright upon the last, and stepping from one to another drove them on with a stick, and that with as much force and assurance as if he had been on dry land; sometimes sitting down upon them.

16. *His heart shall be changed.*—Chald. let them change. See a like Enallage at Chap. v. 21, and other places. But one MS. omits the word יִשְׁנֹן, and a good sense may be made without it: “let his heart or mind be *ex homine* or *not belonging to a man*, but let the heart of a beast be infused into him.”

It must doubtless be hard to say what the real nature of this transformation was; the Syriac seems to incline to a change of the mind, and probably it means no more than that his heart, or the nature of his constitution was made savage and brutish, either by a real madness, or by such a slovenly neglect of himself, or deprivation of the proper use of his speech and limbs, as might reduce him to a state like the beasts. “There is a kind of madness called Lycanthropy, wherein men have the fury of wolves: see Univ. Hist. p. 964. Berosus calls it a languor.” Mr. Godwin. It is said to be a madness of the ferine sort; and some think Nebuchadnezzar might fancy himself a bull, and eat and digest grass like a beast, while he continued in this distracted state. See the story of Lycaon in Ovid’s *Metamorph.* ib. i. v. 236.

Calmet has a Dissertation on this Metamorphose of Nebuchadnezzar,

heart of a beast be given unto him, and seven times
17 shall revolve over him. By the decree of the watchers

wherein he observes, that Lycanthropy is sometimes a natural disease proceeding from a melancholic blood and too great heat of the bowels; but in the present case he considers it as supernatural. The philosopher Heraclitus, according to Diog. Laert. fell into this sort of black melancholy; and thence became a misanthrope. And to a similar cause he ascribes the conduct of Bellerophon in Homer. *Iliad* vi.

—*seven times*.—Literally, “till seven times be changed upon him:” And this primary and exact sense of the words is agreeable to most of the Versions; but the Hebrew Cod. 240 reads שנים years; and the Syriac by translating “till the revolution of seven times” seems to mean the same. Nor does the space of seven months seem long enough for the growth of the hair and nails as at ver. 33. Cod. Chis. translates επτα ετη, and the Editor notes, that Origen derives ετος from עת het, unde Chald. ערין: S. Ephræm and Theodoret understand by it three years and a half; there is sometimes a difference between ετος and ενιαυτος, but he does not know that the former ever denotes a half year, semestre spatium. However whether we understand here a definite for an indefinite term, or whether we consider *the times* as so many days, months, or years, is not very material; but it must be of great importance to settle the exact meaning of this term in the future parts of this book, and therefore we cannot pay too much attention to it.

17. *By the decree of the watchers &c.*—Many MSS. with Keri drop the Vau in אנושא both in this verse and at ver. 16, and the Jod in עליה. See on Chap. iii. 26. For the derivation of פתגמא see on Chap. iii. 16. Vulg. and Gr. regarding the Mem in מאמר, not as a Preposition, but as a formative, render the word in the nominative case, but fifteen MSS. read ובמאמר: yet no alteration is wanting if the מ be a Preposition. The words פתגמא and שאלתא, according to the Arabic sense of the latter in Cast. Lex. seem to signify the same as the Hebrew דבר; as קרשין and עירין both refer to the Angels. But whether the word שאלתא has any allusion to the modes of enacting laws in the Babylonish empire or the countries of the East, or whether any particular revelation might be made to this highly favoured Prophet concerning the plan and counsels of Heaven with regard to the present or future condition of men, and intended to be intimated in this passage, are points on which, either from the distance

- is the matter, even according to the word of the holy ones is the business; to the intent that the living may know that the most High hath dominion in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and the
- 18 lowest of men can set over it. This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar saw, and do thou, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation; forasmuch as all the wise men of my kingdom are not able to make known to me the interpretation, yet thou art able, because the spirit of the holy God is in thee.
- 19 Then Daniel, whose name is Belteshazzar, was in a

of time, or the imperfect state of our knowledge, we can at best form but specious conjectures. However the decree of the watchers is at ver. 24 the decree of the most High, and it seems represented as the result of the Council of Heaven, which one more favoured Angel was commissioned to execute; see ver. 13.

“Some think that עירין and קדישין mean God. Compare ver. 26. Theodoret puts *εἷρ* for the former, and Syriac expresses both in the singular. But changing one vowel it will be plural. God indeed is not called עֵיר, but he is called שׂמֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל, Ps. cxxi. 4, which appears from the other part of the verse to denote “a watchman,” and that sense is fully confirmed by Ps. cxxvii. 1, and He certainly watches over all things. The plural עליונים and other plurals are used of God. See Josh. xxiv. 19, and Prov. ix. 10. Some think by the decree of the watchers is intended, God’s fulfilling the Counsel of his Messengers, see Isai. xliv. 26, where counsel means purpose, that is, his own purpose declared by them. Others think the watchers a higher order of Angels, and the holy ones a lower, but this is without proof: Others the Angels acting with God, to make by the united host a more powerful impression on Nebuchadnezzar.’ Secker.

—*and the lowest.*—The Greek is very strong and beautiful, καὶ ἐξουθενώμα, “and the nothingness of men he can raise over it.” See 1 Sam. ii. 8.

18. —*forasmuch as all the wise men &c.*—This clause is entirely omitted in the Coptic Version, but retained as far as I find in all others.

state of astonishment for an hour, and his thoughts disturbed him: when the king spoke thus, Belteshazzar, let not the dream or the interpretation disturb thee: Belteshazzar replied, my Lord, the dream be to those that hate thee, and the interpretation of it to thine

19. —*astonishment for an hour.*—Many MSS. and some Editions read בשעה with Beth instead of Caph; but the latter seems preferable. It means a considerable space of time, though at ver. 33 the word probably signifies the same as רגע *a moment*. Instead of “astonished,” Vulg. has, “silently recollected,” but Gr. ἀπηγεωθη.

—*let not the dream or the interpretation disturb thee.*—Not in Gr. or Ar. but in MS. A.

—*the interpretation.*—The word פשרא according to the Masora has א instead of the Affix ה; but there seems no necessity for an Affix in the former use of the word; nor for the omission of the Jod according to the same authority in the participle preceding and following the latter use of it, nor perhaps of the א in the word פראי; though many MSS. agree with Keri in each of these instances.

—*the dream be to those that hate thee.*—So 1 Sam. xxv. 22, and Ps. cix. 20, &c. Thus Horace, B. iii. Ode 27,

Hostium uxores puerique cæcos
Sentiant motus orientis austri.

And Virgil, Geor. iii. 513,

Dii meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum.

This figure is called Euphemismus. Such rhetorical embellishments are pointed at no individuals, have nothing in them of malice or ill-will, are used as marks of respect to the ruling powers, and may be presumed to be free from any imputation of a want of charity.

Having touched upon this subject, I would go on farther to observe, that there are many passages in the book of Psalms, especially a considerable part of the 109th just cited, that have given offence to well-meaning persons, as favouring too much of private resentment, and inconsistent with that charity which peculiarly marks the Christian dispensation. Many attempts have been made to remove this difficulty; and especially a very ingenious one by the late Mr. Peters, author of the Dissertation on the book of Job. See his Posthumous

- 20 enemies. The tree that thou sawest, which grew and
 was strong, and the height of it reached to heaven, and
 21 the aspect of it over all the earth; Whose foliage was
 beautiful and the fruit of it plentiful, and food for all
 was on it; under it dwelt the beasts of the field, and on
 its branches the fowls of heaven had their habitation :
 22 Thou art it, O king, who art grown great and become
 strong, and thy greatness hath increased and reached
 unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth.
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Discourses, Serm. xvii. But I know of none that more recommends itself to my mind, than considering the verbs in the future tense, I mean the future imperative ; so that the passages may be looked upon as so many denunciations of the punishments, that God would inflict on the general or individual adversaries of his church and people ; and doubtless He who has a right to inflict punishments has a right also to threaten them. Thus in the 109th Psalm, at the 6th verse, &c.

6. Charge him with malicious wickedness, and let his accuser stand at his right hand.

7. When he shall be judged he shall go forth convicted *, and his prayer † shall be for sin.

8. His days shall be few, and another shall take his office.

9 His children shall be fatherless, and his wife a widow.

10. His children shall be continual vagabonds and beg, and shall be driven out after their desolations. &c.

So LXX. Vul. and Ar. read this last clause by a small change in the verb וּגְרָשׁוּ for וּדְרָשׁוּ, which is probably right.

The Apostle St. Peter has applied some part of these denunciations to the traitor Judas, Acts i. 20, and we can scarcely err in applying the tenth verse to the Jews and their posterity, who concurred with Judas in putting to death the Prince of Peace.

22. —*thy dominion to the end of the earth.*—To the Caspian Sea, to the Euxine Sea, and to the Atlantic Ocean. Grotius. This may

* Or, "depart guilty." So Greek *εξελθοι καταδεδικασμενος*. Of the like import is the Latin expression *Causa cadere*, and our English one "to be cast." See Psalm i. 5.

† Alluding to the Custom of Confession made by Criminals. See Josh. vii. 19, 20.

- 23 And whereas the king saw a watcher, even a holy one, descending from heaven, and saying, Hew down the tree and destroy it; nevertheless the stump of its roots leave in the ground, and with a band of iron and brass, with the tender grass of the field by the dew of heaven he shall also be moistened, and with the beasts of the field shall be his portion, until seven times
- 24 revolve over him: This is the interpretation O king; and the decree of the most High is this, which cometh
- 25 upon my Lord the King. Even thee will they drive out from men, and with the beasts of the field shall be thy dwelling, and they shall cause thee to relish grass like oxen, and from the dew of heaven shalt thou be moistened, and seven times shall revolve over thee, until thou knowest that the most High is the Ruler over the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever
- 26 he will. And whereas they spoke to leave the stump of the roots of the tree, thy kingdom shall be secure for thee, after that thou knowest the ruling powers are of

well enough determine the empire from the West to the North East; but other boundaries should be fixed on for the South Eastern parts.

23. —*with the tender grass of the field.*—One MS. reads here נשמיד before the word בטל; the like word occurs at verse 33. Whether this was borrowed thence, or whether it belongs to the preceding clause, is uncertain; but it gives a tolerable sense, “let his body be among the tender grass of the field;” and yet after all with only an ellipsis of the auxiliary verb יהי, the sense may be complete, “let him be among the tender grass.” Syriac concludes this verse with “Let his heart be changed from the human, &c.” as at verse 16, but this part of the repetition is omitted in the present original text and the other versions.

25.—*they shall cause thee to relish, &c.*—The pronouns in this verse are chiefly in the dative case, according to the Chaldee idiom.

26.—*ruling powers.*—The MSS. vary in the original word, but the greater number seems to read according to the Masoretic punctuation שליטין, dominatores, or “the ruling powers:” the same word

- 27 heaven. Wherefore O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy transgressions by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing favour to the afflicted; perhaps it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity.
- 28 The whole came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar.
- 29 At the end of twelve months as he was walking upon

occurs Ezra iv. 20. The sense is by an usual metonymy, that power or dominion is from God. See Luke xv. 18.

27. — *break off*, &c.—Many of the versions render the verb פָּרַק according to its figurative or secondary sense, “*to redeem*,” and the word בְּצִדְקָה “*by almsgiving* ;” and thus the passage is alleged as favouring the doctrine of expiatory merits and the purchase of absolutions and pardons ; but as De Dieu and others have observed, sins are not said to be redeemed in Scripture, but persons ; and the plain sense of the words is, as I have rendered them : So that the counsel given to the King is, that he should *do justly and love mercy*, should practise those great duties of justice and charity towards mankind, in which he had been hitherto remarkably deficient ; and then as it follows, according to Vulg. Gr. and Ar. “*Perhaps there shall be a prolongation to thy tranquillity, or peace ;*” that is, his punishment might be postponed, and his felicity continued for a longer term ; not unlike the case of Hezekiah in Isai. Chap. xxxviii. or that of the Ninevites recorded by the Prophet Jonah. See also Jer. xviii. Some think that the King followed the advice of Daniel for a time, and that therefore his punishment did not follow till after twelve months.

28. *The whole came upon king Nebuchadnezzar.*—This kind of transformation made part of the popular doctrine of Providence : And the belief of it would work strongly on a diseased fancy racked by a consciousness of crimes. Daniel’s prediction of this disgrace shows it to have been the effect of divine vengeance, yet the Prophet’s account seems to show it was inflicted by common and natural means. Warburton’s Div. Leg. b. iii. § 3.

29. — *as he was walking upon the palace.*—One MS. has a Vau prefixed to the first word of this verse, וּלְקָצֵר. It is well known that the roofs of the buildings in the East were flat or plain, over which the inhabitants used to walk for pleasure. “The palace of

30 the palace of the kingdom of Babylon, The king spoke thus, Is not this the great Babylon which I have built

Koscam, says Mr. Bruce, Vol. iv. p. 271, consists of a square tower of three stories, with a flat parapet roof or terrace, and battlements about it." But "the palace of Gondar and all its contiguous buildings are surrounded by a substantial stone wall thirty feet high, with battlements upon the outer wall, and a parapet roof between the outer and inner, by which you can go along the whole and look into the street: The four sides of this wall are above an English mile and half in length." Vol. iii. p. 380. In a situation like one of these was Nebuchadnezzar placed in the passage before us, in order to take a more full view of his city, and to enjoy the fresh air, according to Sir John Chardin, that is, to gratify his ease and pride; when he pronounced the following extravagant soliloquy.

30. —*the great Babylon which I have built.*—The circuit of this city is said to have been 360 stadia at least, or more than 45 miles, and Pliny extends it to 60 miles. Herodotus describes it as a square, each side of which was 120 stadia, or 480 in circumference; the height of its walls was 50 cubits according to the lowest reckoning, and the breadth of them such that six chariots a-breast, according to Diodorus, might drive along them. It was beautifully situated on the Euphrates, so that a branch of that river ran through the midst of it, over which was a bridge of a furlong in length, with a magnificent palace at each end.

That it is agreeable to Scripture language and the manner of the Hebrews to style that person the builder of a city, who restores it after a state of neglect to its pristine beauty, and improves and adorns it, may be learnt from 2 Chron. xi. 6, and from 2 Kings, xiv. 22, where cities are said to be built by the Kings that repaired, or enlarged and fortified them, although they had been constructed long before. Bochart thinks that Babylon was as much indebted to Nebuchadnezzar, as Rome was to Augustus Cæsar, who used to boast, as Suetonius relates in his life, that he received the city of brick, and left it of marble. See Phaleg. p. 264. Ammian. Marcell. says (xxiii. 20,) *mænia quidem urbis a Semiramide constructa fuisse, arcem autem ab antiquissimo rege Belo.* But Herodotus says, it was built gradually by several of the Assyrian Kings.

Whatever we read of the original construction of Babylon by Nimrod or Belus, or of its enlargement by Semiramis, yet it was either of

- for a royal habitation by the power of my wealth, and
31 for the glory of my Majesty? As the word was yet in
the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, To
thee it is spoken, O king Nebuchadnezzar; The king-
32 dom is passed away from thee: And they shall drive
thee from men, and with the beasts of the field shall
be thy dwelling; they shall make thee relish grass like
oxen, and seven times shall revolve over thee, until
thou knowest that the most High hath dominion in the
kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.
33 In the same hour the word was fulfilled upon Nebu-
chadnezzar, and he was driven from men, and did eat
grass like oxen, and his body was moistened from the
-

little account, or certainly not as one of the wonders of the world, till the walls with their hundred gates, the temple of Belus, the Monarch's most magnificent palace, the hanging gardens, and other grand works and improvements were added by the King who is here said to have built it. See Joseph. Ant. from Berosus, &c. l. x. c. 11. Some of these great works are said to have been finished by Nitocris, who probably completed the plan which Nebuchadnezzar had begun.

Nineveh had been the capital of the Assyrian empire, and was for a long time the most considerable city: According to Diodorus, l. ii. its circuit was reckoned near sixty English miles, or, as the Prophet Jonah describes it, of three days' journey, allowing twenty miles to a day. It is reported by some to have been much larger than Babylon, and to have had the preference given to it in several respects. Nor was it till after the destruction of this city that Babylon came into great repute. Now this happened in the time of Nabopollasar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, who lived at Babylon, but was not peaceably established in the empire, nor was the seat of empire completely fixed herein, till the reign of his son.

Herodotus relates that the wealth and resources of the Babylonian state were so great, that it was equal to one-third part of all Asia; and that beside the tribute, if the other supplies for the great King were divided into twelve parts, according to the twelve months of the year, Babylon would supply four, and all Asia the other eight. See lib. i. p. 77. Ed. Gron.

dew of heaven, until his hair grew out like the plumage of eagles, and his nails like the claws of birds.

- 34 But at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up my eyes to heaven, when my understanding returned unto me, and blessed the most High, and praised and glorified him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom
35 from generation to generation. And all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing; and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and there is none that can check his hand, or say unto him, What doest

33. —*eagles*.—Gr. and Ar. have, *Lions*. Jackson tells us, this was the reading of the old Greek Vulg. and the old Latin one, was found in Tertullian's book de Pœnitentia, and in the old Armenian version; and he paraphrases the passage thus, "till his hair was grown long and shagged like the mane of a lion, and his nails like bird's claws." Chron. Vol. ii. p. 397. I do not find that the word נִשְׂר is ever understood for a lion, nor do I know any word like it of that signification. But the sense is a good one. Λεοντος. MS. Pachom., perhaps שחור for שחול black lion.

34.—*lifted up my eyes*.—The first indication of the recovery is noted by a reverse of the cause of the fall. At the expiration of the term, or at the end of seven years, Nebuchadnezzar lifted up his eyes unto Heaven, and his understanding or mind returned; he acknowledged against whom he had transgressed by his pride, and looked up unto him when he was restored. The following acts of praise are the suitable returns of a mind truly penitent, and deeply sensible of its faults and of its mercies.

35. —*as nothing*.—כִּלְה. Many MSS. read with א instead of ה, according to the Chaldee form.

—*that can check his hand*.—Literally, who can strike on his hand: the versions render the expression somewhat differently, though all seem to have nearly the same meaning. Calvin observes that the word מְחָא with ה following, signifies in the Syriac idiom, to strike or throw upon any part of the body something that may confine it; and hence in the Talmud the expression is frequently used for, "to check or hinder."

- 36 thou? At the same time my understanding returned unto me, also the glory of my kingdom, my honour, and my comeliness, returned unto me; for my governors, and my nobles made application to me, and I was established in my kingdom, and more
 37 abundant majesty was added unto me. Now therefore I Nebuchadnezzar praise, and extol, and glorify the

36. —*my understanding*.—מִדְּעִי Chald. *ai φρενες μου*. Gr. Sensus meus. Vulg. Mens mea. Syr. The original noun from יָדַע to know, according to Castell, relates to the mind and understanding, and also to the sense and perception; and perhaps the whole may be meant to be comprehended in it.

—*also the glory of my kingdom, my honour, and my comeliness returned to me*.—Or, “for the glory” in the dative case; but Noldius, p. 409, considers the word לִיקָר as the nominative case. This clause is not in Syriac nor in the Hebrew Cod. 240. The noun הִדְרִי seems by Gr. Ar. and perhaps Vulg. to be considered as a verb, and to be put by an apocope for הִדְרִית; yet there seems no necessity for the presumed apocope, as the sense here given is a good one, and the latter part of the verse seems a confirmation of the clause perhaps in each article.

—*more abundant majesty*.—One MS. reads רְבוּת without an apocope of ת.

37. —*praise and extol &c.*—The number and variety of the words is meant to express the vehemence of the King’s zeal and affectionate devotion. He was to remain in his transformed state, till he knew that the ruling powers were of Heaven; and in this language of praise he discovers a perfect conviction of the authority and majesty of the supreme God, and, especially in the last clause of the verse, of his own baseness.

This great King probably lived only one year after his recovery; and it might be hoped that during that term he continued in the faith and worship of the true God. But however that was, his death happened about the 37th year of Jehoiachin’s captivity, after he had reigned as sole monarch 43 years. He is said to have been one of the greatest princes that had reigned in the East for many ages before him, and Josephus Ant. l. x. quotes Berossus and Megasthenes as both bearing testimony either to his valour, his wealth, or his magni-

God of heaven, because all his works are truth, and his

ficence. He was doubtless made use of as an instrument of Providence to inflict the divine vengeance on several nations, and many of the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel were fulfilled by him. It had been foretold, especially by the Prophet Ezekiel in the 26th and following Chapters, that he should reduce Tyre, and subdue Egypt: the former of which he besieged for thirteen years, and at length took it, after it was nearly depopulated, and the effects of the inhabitants transported to new Tyre, an island not far from the old city, which was afterwards reduced by Alexander. While he was employed in this siege, he executed the wrath of the Almighty on some of the nations in the neighbourhood, as on the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Edomites, and the Philistines: But in a particular manner the Jewish nation often felt the power of his arm under several of their Kings: their city Jerusalem was besieged not only in the reign of Jehoiakim, but again under his son Jehoiakin, and multitudes of persons were sent into captivity to Babylon; so numerous indeed, that scarce enough were left for necessary uses. 2 Kings xxiv. He came afterwards with all his army and pitched against it, and built forts against it, under the reign of Zedekiah, when the siege continued from the 10th month of the 9th year of that King until his 11th year (see 2 Kings xxv. and Jer. lii.) at which time there was a dreadful famine in the city; and the men of war thereof escaping in the night, the army of the Chaldees pursued them, took the King and put out his eyes at Riblah, and carried him to Babylon, where he was kept in prison till his death. Soon after this, in the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar, about two years before the siege of Tyre, he sent his General Nebuzaradan against Jerusalem, who burnt the temple and palace, and almost the whole of the city; and at length carried off the small remains of the people into captivity, leaving only a few poor stragglers to till the ground. "Thus was Judah carried away captive out of his own land." Jer. lii. 27.

After Nebuchadnezzar had destroyed Jerusalem, and reduced Tyre, he marched into Egypt, and taking advantage of some civil dissensions in that kingdom, he slew many of the inhabitants, carried away others as captives, enriched himself and his army with a large share of plunder, and made himself master of the country, so that he had now subdued the whole territory from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates. To which may be added, that he had taken the province of Elam from

paths judgment, and those that walk in pride he is able to abase.

Astyages, agreeably to the prediction of Jeremiah, Chap. xlix. 34, and had placed his throne therein, or fixed his royal pavilion in it, as a token of supreme and sovereign authority. How he employed himself afterwards, in the peaceable part of his reign, in improving and adorning his great city has already been intimated. Most of the events both of war and peace contributed to gratify his lust and to swell his pride ; till at length his madness having reached its utmost pitch, he was at once reduced to a level with the beasts of the earth ; and thereby made to exhibit an useful example to future generations, of the malignant force of inveterate habits, of the dangerous effects of licentious tyranny, of the weakness of human nature, attended with all the greatest advantages of wealth and power, to govern and conduct itself properly, and of the sovereign controlling power of Providence in the highest and most important affairs of life. From the time of his transformation to his death we know but little of his history. Eusebius, Pr. Ev. ix. 40, gives the following fabulous account from Megasthenes, who collected it from Abydenus ; that he was seized by a divine impulse and foretold the fate of the Babylonians ; that they were to be laden with a most galling yoke at the coming of a Persian Mule, &c. and that after this prophecy *παράρημα ηφανιστο*, statim disparuit, or immediately hereupon he was seen no more : Berosus relates that he fell into an *απώστια* of which he died. Scaliger thought that by the former was meant, his being driven out from men, and reduced to a savage state.

Whatever was the fate of this great King, it will be more to our present purpose to observe, that he was succeeded by his son Iloarudam, according to Ptolemy, who is the Evil-merodach of Jeremiah, who married a discreet and prudent woman called Nitocris, from whom was born a son, whose history is the subject of the next Chapter. After the death of Evil-merodach, who reigned two years, Niricassolassar or Neriglissar, who seems to have been the chief of the conspirators against the last king, succeeded him : He had married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and in the course of his reign made a great stand against the growing power of the Medes and Persians ; but at length, after a reign of four years, was killed in a battle with them under the command of Cyrus. His son Laborosarchod suc-

CHAPTER V.

I BELSHAZZAR the king made a great feast for a thou-

ceeded him, and having reigned only nine months, and not reaching a Thoth or beginning of an Egyptian year, he is not mentioned by Ptolemy : However he is said to have been quite the reverse to his father, and after he had exercised many acts of wanton cruelty (see Xen. Cyrop. l. iii. iv.) he was murdered by his own subjects, and succeeded by Nabonadius or Belshazzar.

Several uses may be made of these historical sketches in explaining various parts of this book : I mean not to advert to them at present, but shall only remind the reader, that as the captivity began in the year 605 before Christ, or one year before Nebuchadnezzar began his reign, so we shall be now advanced as far as the 51st year thereof, at the entrance upon the reign of Nabonadius.

THIS Chapter contains the History of Belshazzar's polluting the sacred Vessels taken from the Temple of God, of the hand-writing against the wall denouncing his consequent punishment, of the interpretation of that hand-writing by Daniel, of the Death of the King, and the Kingdom's being transferred to another People.

1. *Belshazzar the king.*—The Grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, the Labynetus of Herodotus, and the last monarch of the Babylonian kingdom. This last King is said by Ptolemy to have reigned 17 years, and we read of the *third* year of Belshazzar, Dan. viii. 1, but Laborosoarchod reigned only nine months, and was killed according to Berosus, *παύς ὦν*, whereas Belshazzar had wives and concubines. Certain it is from Jer. xxvii. 6, 7, that the kingdom would be continued to the son's son of Nebuchadnezzar, and from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, that to him and his sons the sovereignty would be continued until the kingdom of Persia ; and therefore one at least of his grandsons must have reigned in Babylon after Evil-merodach, who could not be the last King, or Belshazzar. And there is very little reason

sand of his nobles, and drank wine before the thousand.

to doubt from a review of the circumstances recorded in Scripture and by the profane Historians, that the Belshazzar here meant was not the short-lived tyrant above-mentioned, whose cruelties are recounted by Xenophon, and who was the daughter's son; but rather the son's son of Nebuchadnezzar, or Nabonadius the son of Evil-merodach. And this is the opinion of Jerom from Berosus in Josephus, cont. Ap. i. 20. The arguments usually adduced to settle this difficulty may be seen at large in the Univ. Hist. Vol. iv. Note p. 422, &c. as also in Dr. Prideaux, Con. p. i. b. 2.

—*great feast*.—The primary sense of the original word is *bread* or *food*: and the wine was of the strong or turbid sort, either enriched with spices, or inspissated by being reduced in boiling. See Bishop Lowth's Note on Isai. i. 22. Bread and wine are mentioned as the whole ingredients of the feast: and this was probably an usual mode of describing an entertainment in the East, where the people have always been great eaters of bread. So at Gen. xliii. 16, we read that Joseph ordered his servants to slay plentifully and make preparations, because his brethren were to dine with him, and yet it is said at ver. 25 "they understood that they were to eat *bread* there," and at ver. 31 Joseph orders, "set on bread." And at Exod. ii. 20, Jethro the יִתְרוֹ priest or prince of Midian, sent his daughters to invite Moses "to eat bread." See also 1 Kings xiii. 15. Nor need we be at a loss to account for the place where a thousand lords might have been received and entertained, since Mr. Harmer has informed us in Vol. i. p. 191, that a kind of quadrangular court, within the first or outer gate of the palace, was made use of for this purpose; see the note also on Chap. iv. 29. The reader may likewise find several circumstances explained, relating to the following History of Belshazzar's fatal night, in the observation of Mr. Harmer just cited, to which I must refer him.

—*and drunk*.—Gr. of Th. Ar. and Copt. connect this word with the next verse, thus, "And before the thousand was wine, and when Belshazzar had drunk, he commanded, &c." Vulg. and Cod. 240 render "when he was drunken, or merry with the wine;" and this was a kind of excess, which Curtius tells us, the People of Babylon were much addicted to: *Babylonii maxime in vinum, et quæ ebrietatem sequuntur, effusi sunt*, lib. v. c. 1. Herodotus, lib. i, and Xenophon Cyrop. lib. vii, both inform us, that the city of Babylon

- 2 Belshazzar commanded, whilst he was tasting the wine, to bring the vessels of gold and silver, which Nebuchadnezzar his father had carried away from the temple in Jerusalem, that in them might drink the king and his nobles, his wives and his concubines.
- 3 Then were brought the vessels of gold which they had carried away from the temple, the house of God in

was taken in the night after a great festival, when the people were engaged in dancing and other voluptuous indulgences, according to the former, (p. 77, Ed. Gron.) and when they passed the whole night in drinking and banqueting or revelling, according to the latter, p. 404.

2. —*tasting the wine.*—So Gr. Ar. and Syr. And the expression seems to allude to that part of the libation which refers to tasting the wine at the time of a sacrifice, or a festal solemnity. Thus Virgil *Æn.* i. ver. 741,

Primaque libato summo tenus attigit ore.

The feast was perhaps an annual one in honour of some of the Babylonish deities, probably of Bel; which opinion seems countenanced by the words of Cod. Chis. *εν ημερα εγκαίνισμου των βασιλειων αυτου*, “on the day of the dedications of his kingdoms;” and by ver. 4, where it is said, they *praised* the gods of gold, &c. This impious King, *ανοσιος βασιλευς*, as he is called by Xenophon (*Cyrop.* i. vii,) in making the libamina ordered the vessels of Jehovah to be introduced for these purposes, thus impiously prostituting the most sacred instruments of the temple of the true God to the idolatrous services of their pagan superstitions; or if the impiety was not so gross, at least the sacred vessels were applied to common uses, and to the purposes of intemperance and excess.

—*Nebuchadnezzar his father.*—Or rather his grandfather; as the word *אב* is applied not only to the immediate parent, but to the ancestor of two, three, or more generations. See *Deut.* xxvi. 5, 2 *Sam.* ix. 7, and the note on ver. 1.

3. —*the house of God.*—The term *בית*, “which is the house,” is not in the Versions, and is omitted in the preceding verse, but one MS. has it in that verse, and it is found in the margin of another. It has the appearance of a gloss.

- Jerusalem, and the king and his nobles, his wives and
 4 his concubines drank in them. As they were drinking
 the wine, they praised the gods of gold and silver, of
 5 brass, iron, wood, and stone. In the same hour went
 forth fingers of a man's hand, which wrote over against
 the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the
 king's palace, and the king saw the part of the hand
 6 that was writing. Then the brightness of the king's

4. —*they praised the gods of gold.*—Here is a kind of competition, or the appearance of a triumph of the false gods over the true one, whom still Nebuchadnezzar had honoured and acknowledged, and prohibited by a solemn decree that any one should speak lightly of him. The competition appears much stronger in the Alexandrine and Coptic Versions, which add, “But the everlasting God they praised not.” Such a wanton and sacrilegious insult deserved and called for exemplary punishment.

5. *In the same hour went forth.*—Chald. נפקן. Several MSS. read נפקה with the Masora, and one or two נפקן, according to the Targum dialect; but no alteration seems wanting, as the noun following and the participle that afterward agrees with it are both plurals, with only the Jod dropped from the termination ין. If one of the twenty-four hours of the day is here intended, it is the first instance of such a division of time in Scripture, unless we except the use of the same word at Ch. iii. and iv. See Mr. Lowth on Chap. iii. 6, who also has some ingenious and useful remarks on various instances of the punishment of sacrilege in heathen story at this verse, and some curious ones concerning the deportations of the sacred vessels from Solomon's Temple in his note on ver. 2.

6. *Then the comeliness.*—Chald. יורוי. The word is of strong import, and means much more than *μορφη* “countenance,” such a clear and lively complexion, as is the result of high health and spirits. It is applied to the splendour of the image, at Chap. ii. 31. As to the next word שנוהוי, “videtur legendum שנו ut iii. 26, et potuit הי ex הי præced. oriri. Plenus dicitur עלוהי ver. 9, sed aliquando suffigitur pronomen subintellec[t]a præpositione: ut Job. xv. 21. 2 Sam. xvii. 2.” Secker.

The expressions in this verse in a collected view contain such a description of Terror as is rarely to be met with, the dead change of

- countenance was changed, and his reflections disturbed him; so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and
- 7 his knees smote one against the other. The king called aloud to introduce the Magicians, the Chaldeans, and the Diviners; when the king spoke thus to the wise men of Babylon, Whatever person shall read this writing, and shew me the interpretation of it, shall be clothed with purple, with a chain of gold about his neck, and shall rank the third in the king-

the countenance, the perturbation of the thoughts, the joints of the loins become relaxed, and the knees smiting hither and thither or against each other, are very strong indications of horror.—Horace has, *Et corde et genibus tremit*; and Virgil, *tarda trementi genua labant*; but these are far inferior to the picturesque description of Daniel.

7. — *the Magicians &c.*—For these names see on Chap. i. and ii. Belshazzar like Nebuchadnezzar calls in the assistance of magical arts; and this seems to have been the general resource in unexpected emergencies, not only among the Pagans or Gentiles, but even of some who were worshippers of the one true God. Such was the case of Saul at Endor, and to this the Israelites might probably be inclined, when they so often revolted in the wilderness.

— *a chain.*—Many MSS. read with Keri *המניכא* with Jod instead of Van, and the like at ver. 16. This Maniacum is thus defined by Polybius, lib. ii. *Χρυσουν ψελλιον ο φορουσι περι τας χειρας η του τραχηλον οι Γαλαται.* Torquis aut monile aureum quod circa manus et collum ferunt Galli. H. Michaelis thinks the Chaldee word originally oriental, and he is probably right, though Castell supposes it derived from the Greek.

— *the third.*—Chald. *תלתי*, but *תלתא* at ver. 16. The *א* was probably changed into *ה* and the *ה* into *י*. Grotius considers the King as the first, the son of the King as the second, and the interpreter of the vision to be the third: Or it may mean, that there should be a triumvirate appointed to govern the kingdom; as was the case in the beginning of the reign of Darius, and the interpreter should be one of these. Mr. Bruce speaks of a person, in Vol. iv. p. 32, who was suddenly advanced to a command, the third in the kingdom of Abyssinia for rank, power, and riches; and that at his public investiture he had a circle of gold put upon his head, was

- 8 dom. Then came in all the king's wise men, but they were unable to read the writing, so as to make known the interpretation to the king.
- 9 At this king Belshazzar was very much distressed, and the brightness of his countenance was changed
- 10 upon him, and his nobles were astonished. When the queen on account of the conversation of the king and his nobles came into the banquet-house, the queen spoke thus, O king, live for ever; let not thy thoughts disturb thee, nor the brightness of thy countenance be

clothed with a white and blue mantle, and made the King's lieutenant-general in the provinces allotted to him: From whence it should seem that other governors of provinces were likewise of this same rank.

8. —*the king's wise men.*—Eleven or twelve MSS. read “the wise men of the King of Babel.” Some Commentators have thought the characters were abbreviated, as M. T. P. or that the letters standing alone without vowel-points, could not be easily understood in their detached form; or that the words were written in the Samaritan or old Hebrew letters; but as we have now translated, there is no occasion to have recourse to any such solutions.

10. —*the queen.*—Probably the Queen Mother, the Nitocris of Herodotus, as the King's wives were at the entertainment. Grotius from Josephus, thinks this lady to have been the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, and grandmother of the present King; but, as Dr. Prideaux has justly observed, the last King of Babylon, according to Herodotus, lib. i. was *the son* of the great queen Nitocris, and therefore must have been her son by Evil-merodach the son of Nebuchadnezzar.

—*on account of the conversation.*—Chald. “words or affairs.” Eng. Transl. of 1599, “the talke.” This part of the clause is omitted by the Greek interpreter, but supplied in MS. Pachom.

—*thy thoughts.*—Chald. רעיון. The Jod plural is dropped, but eleven MSS. retain it.—In the next word ייך the Masoretes consider the Jod before the Affix as redundant, and a great number of MSS. drop it; but as both forms seem agreeable to the plurals of the Chaldee nouns, no alteration is wanting.

- 11 changed. There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the days of thy father an enlightened understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him, and the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father appointed him chief of the soothsayers, the magicians, the Chaldeans, and
- 12 the diviners, even thy father the king. Because an enlarged mind, and a discerning understanding, interpreting dreams, and discovering dark sentences, and solving intricate matters, were found in him, even in Daniel, to whom the king gave the name of Belshazzar: now let Daniel be called, and he will shew the interpretation.

11. *There is a man in thy kingdom.*—Some persons are apt to wonder that Daniel was unknown to Belshazzar, which others have accounted for from the abandoned and indolent character of the Prince; but there is a farther reason which Mr. Harmer, Vol. ii. p. 166, has hinted from Sir John Chardin, viz. that he was mazouled or displaced at the death of a prior King; since in the East when the King dies, the physicians and astrologers are removed, the one for not having driven away death, the other for not having predicted it. But after all, I am not inclined to think that Daniel was totally unknown, by report at least, to this King; nor must we of necessity infer it from ver. 13, as I have now translated it. However he was probably of no esteem, or employed in no considerable department in the state in the early part of his reign, and therefore not readily recollected.

—*an enlightened understanding.*—Chald. light and understanding, an extraordinary illumination, as the next words shew. See a like Hendiadys at ver. 12. The last words of this verse “even thy father the King,” are not in Gr. Syr. or Ar.

12. —*interpreting dreams.*—Some grammatical inaccuracies appear to be in this verse, but perhaps if we were to read מַפְשָׁרָה, all might be right; however for this there is no authority from the MSS. yet the Greek considers the three words מַפְשָׁר, אֲדוּחַיִּים and מְשָׁרָא all as particples and agreeing with the feminine noun שְׂכֵלְתָּנּוּ: It seems also to have found an Affix after רוּחַ; “because an enlarged

- 13 Then Daniel was introduced before the king : when the king spoke thus unto Daniel ; Thou art that Daniel of the captives of Judah, whom the king my
 14 father brought out of Judea ? I have even heard of thee, that the spirit of the gods is in thee, that an enlightened understanding and abundant wisdom are
 15 found in thee. And now have been brought before me the wise men, the magicians, that they should read this writing, so as to make known to me the interpretation of it, but they were unable to shew the inter-
 16 pretation of the matter. But I have heard of thee, that thou canst fully interpret, and solve intricate matters : now if thou shalt be able to read the writing, and make known to me the interpretation, thou shalt be clothed with purple, with a chain of gold about thy
 17 neck, and shalt rank third in the kingdom. Then Daniel answered thus before the king ; thy gifts be with thyself, and thy large rewards give to another ;

mind was *in him*, also a discerning understanding, interpreting, &c." One MS. reads אֲדִידִין with Jod plural ; Ænigmas. κρυπτομενα.

13. —*was introduced*.—Many MSS. read הוּעַל, expressing the Vau, and the like at ver. 15.

14. —*the gods*.—Several MSS. and some Editions have "the holy gods." קִרְיָשִׁין, De Rossi. Greek renders singularly both here and at ver. 11.

15. —*so as*.—I have rendered the Vau in this manner more than once, and that it will admit this sense, see Nold. p. 292.

16. —*thou canst fully interpret*.—Keri and several MSS. read תּוּכַל for תּוּכֵל, but there seems no need of an alteration, as תּוּכֵל is the second person singular of the future Kal from יָכַל. The Chaldee is, "art able to interpret interpretations," an usual reduplication. One MS. reads חֲלֵמִין, "to interpret dreams." "Quæ explicanda sunt explicare, et nodos solvere." Houbigant.

17. —*thy large rewards*.—Most of the Versions render here as two words, נְבוֹד-בֵּיתְךָ, the wealth or glory of thy house ; but there appears no confirmation of such division among the MSS. In the

nevertheless I will read the writing to the king, and will make known to him the interpretation.

- 18 O thou king, the most high God gave a kingdom,
and majesty, and glory, and honour, to Nebuchad-
19 nezzar thy father. And by reason of the majesty
which he gave to him, all peoples, nations, and lan-
guages were trembling and affrighted at his presence :
whom he would he killed, and whom he would he
kept alive, and whom he would he exalted, and whom
20 he would he humbled. But when his heart was lifted
up, and his spirit hardened to insolent conduct, he was

Targum the word נבוכדנצר is found at Jer. xl. and the additions at the end of the word before us seem only the plural vowel Jod and the Nun changed into Thau. Grotius renders as at Chap. ii. ver. 6, "annual stipends." But see Cast. Lex. Commentators seem puzzled to account for Daniel's rejecting the King's presents here, and accepting them at ver. 29, but the intention at the present verse is only modestly to decline the honours, and to intimate that they could have no influence on his mind, which yet at the King's command afterwards he could not refuse.

18. — *a kingdom, and majesty, &c.*—Grotius explains these words thus, "a kingdom," that is, a widely extended empire, magnificence or majesty among his subjects, glory from his victories, and honour from the enlargement of the city, the building of its walls, temple, and palace.

19. — *he kept alive.*—Gr. Ar. and Vulg. "he smote" or wounded, as from מכה, to strike ; but Syriac agrees with our Translation, and three MSS. read מוה, which is the best sense.

20. — *hardened to insolent conduct.*—Chald. "to act proudly." The expressions here have a peculiar force in marking the haughty insolence of king Nebuchadnezzar. His authority in the last verse was raised to the highest pitch ; and on that account we find here that his heart was elated, and his spirit grown obdurate in proud and arrogant behaviour, instead of ascribing all his honours and advantages to the real Giver of them, the true God whom he had been brought to acknowledge ; and to the neglect of whom and of improvement from his ancestor's sufferings, Belshazzar's fate is by the Prophet so justly and judiciously attributed.

deposed from the throne of his kingdom, and his glory
 21 was taken away from him. Also he was driven from
 the sons of men, and his heart was levelled with the
 beasts, and with the wild asses was his dwelling; he
 was made to relish grass like oxen, and his body was
 moistened with the dew of heaven, until he knew that
 the most high God hath dominion in the kingdom of
 22 men, and whomsoever he will appointeth over it. Yet

21. —*was levelled.*—Greek seems to have found the like word here as at Chap. iv. 16, the word שׁוּי may be considered as the participle from שׁוּר. One MS. reads שׁוּי, and several in the marginal reading of Keri have שׁוּי, with an Affix; but the present text needs not to be altered. See on Chap. iv. 15.

—*wild asses.*—The preceding noun חִיית is generally applied to *wild* beasts, of which sort is the onager or wild ass. Bochart describes it as a beautiful creature, living in deserts, very timorous and shy, and scarce ever tamed. So Virgil, Georg. iii. l. 409.

Sæpe etiam cursu timidus agitabis onagros.

Job has given us the following beautiful description of this animal, Chap. xxxix. 5, &c.

Who hath sent out the wild ass free?
 And who hath released the bonds of the wild ass?
 For whose mansion I have laid down the waste,
 And his dwellings are the barren desert:
 He scorneth the multitude of the city,
 And regardeth not the cryings of the driver.
 The range of the mountains is his pasture;
 And he searcheth for every green shoot.

Syriac is fuller than the other Versions in repeating here the several instances of Nebuchadnezzar's degradation.

—*relish grass.*—The Greek is ἐψαμίζον, they made him to lick up grass; the Chaldee also has a reference to the taste; the allusion in both is to the manner in which the ox feeds, which through the assistance of the tongue appears to be very relishing.

—*over it.*—Chald. עֲלֶיהָ. But many MSS. agree with Keri in dropping the Jod in this word, and so at Chap. vi. 13, &c. The like

- thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine
 23 heart, although thou knewest all this. But against
 the Lord of heaven hast thou exalted thyself, and the
 vessels of his house have they brought before thee;
 and thou and thy nobles, thy wives and thy concubines
 have drunk in them; and thou hast praised the gods of
 silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which
 neither see, nor hear, nor know; and the God in whose
 hand is thy breath, and all thy ways are his, hast thou
 not honoured.
- 24 Therefore from him was sent the palm of the hand,
 25 and this writing marked. And this is the writing
 which was marked, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHAR-
 26 SIN. This is the interpretation of the matter; MENE,

is observable in קרמִיך, "before thee," at ver. 23, but this word is commonly written with Vau or Jod before an Affix; see ver. 24.

22. —*not humbled thine heart.*—Greek and Arabic add, "before God."

23. —*thy nobles.*—Chald. רברבניך. Many MSS. with Keri drop the Jod in this noun, but according to Buxtorf it seems to belong to the plural termination. But see on Chap. ii. 29. The Leitotes at the end of this verse is a fine argument of the Prophet's skill and address. Greek seems to read instead of *his*, "*him* thou hast not honoured;" and Coptic omits the preceding clause, "All thy ways are his."

24. —*the palm.*—Chald. פסא, which some render by a joint, articulus; others by, *vola manus*: Hebrew 240 has כף; the proper sense of the word is a part or portion, and so I have translated פס at ver. 5, but as that part doubtless is meant which is used in writing or marking, I have here given פסא the sense of *palm*. Two MSS. omit the Jod in the word רשִׁים "marked," and thus seem to consider it as a verb to be referred to the palm of the hand; but I see no reason why כתבא "writing" may not be of the masculine gender, as the א seems only the addition of the favourite Chaldee letter, and not a substitute for the feminine ה; the pronoun דנא has also an א instead of ה in many copies, and may be either masculine or feminine.

26. *This is the interpretation—Mene.*—Syriac connects this verse

God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it.
 27 TEKEL, Thou hast been weighed in balances, and art
 28 found deficient. Peres, thy kingdom is divided, and
 given to the Medes and Persians.

with the preceding, rendering thus, "But as to the writing marked, Mene, &c. this is the interpretation." In the Arabic the three words are considered as participles, *Mensuratum*, *Appensum*, *Divisum*. Mene, מנא to number; that is, to fix bounds to a thing or the period of its continuance. In Isai. xxxviii. 5, an additional number of years is assigned to the fixed period of Hezekiah's life. See also Job xiv. 5. Houbigant rejects the repetition of this word, but it probably was meant to denote a complete numeration, "God hath numbered and finished it." The kingdom was entirely to terminate with this monarch, who must have been therefore the last King of Babylon.

27. *Tekel*.—Chald. תְּקֵל, to weigh: corresponding to which is the Hebrew שָׁקַל. So Job xxxi. 6, "Let him *weigh* me in the balances of justice." The shekel was a sort of standard weight of silver money reserved or kept as a model in the sanctuary, according to which the common ones were to be framed or valued. The Romans observed a similar practice, and the emperor Justinian ordered the standard weights and measures to be laid up in the churches. The meaning here is, that the Almighty hath weighed, or made a due estimate of, the conduct of Belshazzar, according to the just and impartial measures of his providence, and hath found him light or deficient, a man of no account, unworthy of a kingdom, and a fit object of his vengeance. The scales or balances must remind the classical reader of a like allusion in the 22nd Iliad of Homer, and the 12th Æneid of Virgil, previous to the death of Hector and of Turnus. And so Milton in the war of the Angels in his 6th Book of *Paradise Lost*,

Long time in even scale
 The battle hung.

The Goddess or Justice of Astræa is said to have been the daughter of Jupiter, and is usually described as holding in her hand a balance: Mohammed seems to have adopted this idea in the 57th Chapter of his Koran, where he observes, that when God sent down the Scriptures, he sent the balance also, that men might observe justice.

28. *Peres*.—From פָּרַס to divide. Hence Peres, the Persian.

Houbigant thinks Upharsin at ver. 25 should be Peres, but if the latter be a participle passive, the sense will be just the same; the plural active being often in Chaldee used for the participle passive. The kingdom was torn away from the unworthy possessor of it, or, as it was distributed among two powers, it is therefore properly said to have been divided: The Mede Darius enjoying it first, and afterward the Persian Cyrus as a part of the new empire.

—*the Medes and Persians.*—The kingdom of the Medes seems to have been but of short duration: It probably had its name of Media from מדי *Madi*, the third son of Japhet, but its first establishment into a kingdom is dated about 150 years before the reign of Cyrus. Sir Isaac Newton reckons up only five Kings. Herodotus (lib. i.) tells us, the first was Dejoces, a man of great prudence, and who reigned a long time. Phraortes his son succeeded him, whom Calmet judges to have been the Arphaxad of the book of Judith, but Prideaux is of a different opinion: see Conn. p. i. b. 1. This monarch was followed by Cyaxares, a Prince who widely extended the empire over Asia, and left it to his son Astyages, the father, according to Xenophon, of Cyaxares the second, or Darius Medus. Pliny in his Nat. Hist. p. 100, settles the geography of Media in this manner; It had the Caspians and the Parthians on the East, the Lower Assyria, called Sitacene, Susiana and Persis on the South, on the West Adiabene or the middle parts of Assyria, i. e. Diarbek, and Armenia on the North. Virgil in his 2nd Georg. calls it, ditissima terra, and celebrates it for the production of the *Malum Medicum* or the Citron: Polybius also, lib. v. takes notice of its great abundance in corn and cattle, and of a multitude of cities and towns in the plains amidst the mountains which divide it from East to West. Its capital Ecbatane, was a very spacious and opulent city, which the Persian Kings used for a summer-residence; and is said to have been fifteen miles in circumference, to have had walls seventy cubits high, and fifty broad. Judith, Chap. i. 2. This place is also much noticed in the book of Tobit, as where his son Tobias was married, to which he retired from Nineveh, and ended his days in it.

Persia whose capital is Persepolis, situated on the South of Media, gives name to the gulf below, which receives the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. It consisted of three parts, Persis, Elymais, whence the Elamites of Scripture, and Susiana, unless the latter should be considered as a distinct region, having had Susa for its capital: But Susiana was added to Persia by Cyaxares the first. This whole tract together with Media and Assyria or Babylon, as also Lydia and other countries,

29 Then spoke Belshazzar, and they clothed Daniel
with purple, with a chain of gold about his neck, and
proclaimed over him, that he should rank third in the
30 kingdom. In that same night was Belshazzar the

were all united under Cyrus, who was the first monarch of this Persian empire, as Darius Codomannus was the fourteenth and last. Enough has been, or will be, observed concerning the Persians in other parts of these Notes, to prevent any occasion of farther enlargement in this place.

29. —*and they clothed Daniel.*—The King was so struck with his superior skill, and conceived himself so bound by the promise he had made before his nobles, that he ordered the Prophet to be rewarded immediately with the honours he had promised him, which he was forced to accept, and which probably prepared him for a more easy reception by the succeeding monarch. “App. de bell. Rom. p. 66. Ed. Steph. says, The Roman Senate gave Phamæas the Carthaginian a purple robe with ornaments of gold.” Secker.

Nor let it be a matter of wonder that Daniel is said to be clothed as it were immediately; for these habits were always at hand for the Eastern Monarchs to reward their friends or favourites with; and Mr. Harmer tells us from Sir John Chardin, that the Kings of Persia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits ready, designed for presents, and sorted. Obs. Vol. ii. p. 87. It seems likewise that on some occasions the great men of the East were accustomed to carry with them on their journeys a variety of habits and vestments, in order to distribute them as presents to those whom they wished to honour and reward. And this will account for the changes of garments which Naaman the Syrian had with him, when he returned from the Prophet Elisha, some of which were given to his perfidious servant. 2 Kings v.

30. *In that same night was Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans slain.*—And from the next verse it appears that the Babylonian or Chaldean kingdom expired with him.

The punishment of Nebuchadnezzar, the death of Belshazzar, and the expiration of the kingdom, may serve to remind us of that fine passage of the wise son of Sirach, which I shall transcribe from the 10th Chapter of the book of Ecclesiasticus. “The beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and his heart is turned away from

31 king of the Chaldeans slain: And Darius the Mede

his Maker. For pride is the beginning of sin, and he that hath it shall pour out abomination. The Lord hath cast down the thrones of proud princes, and set up the meek in their stead. The Lord hath plucked up the roots of the proud nations, and planted the lowly in their place. The Lord overthrew countries of the heathen, and hath made their memorial to cease from the earth. Pride was not made for man, nor furious anger for them that are born of a woman."

The fall of Babylon was predicted by Isaiah and Habakuk; and the circumstances of its fall were minutely foretold by the prophet Jeremiah, Chap. li. the 30th and following verses: By comparing this passage with the accounts given by Herodotus, lib. 1, Xenophon in his *Cyrop.* and the subsequent Historians, we shall probably be inclined to think it affords as fine an illustration of one sort of the oratorical figure, *προ ομμάτων ποιεῖν*, as was ever delineated. For the method practised by Cyrus to surprise the city by draining that part of the Euphrates which ran through it, together with many other curious particulars relating to Babylon, see Bishop Lowth on Isai. xiii. 19. Cyrus having entered the city on a festal night, advanced with his army towards the palace, and having by the assistance of Gadatas and Gobryas, as we learn from Xenophon, killed the guards, they entered the room where the King was, and slew him, and those that were with him. It seems not improbable likewise, according to Dr. Blayney's ingenious suggestion on Jeremiah, li. 32, that they burned the houses of the city, or at least the advanced buildings in their progress, and forced the citizens to quit them in the greatest consternation; for they came upon them with such surprise, that, according to Herodotus, "they had passed through the gates, which were left open in this riotous night, and had taken the extreme parts of the city, before those who inhabited the middle parts knew of the capture," lib. i. p. 77. Travellers in general agree that there are no exact traces to be found of this once famous city; and though Geographers have placed it about fifteen leagues from Bagdad, yet what some have thought to be its ruins, others have conceived to have been the remains of buildings erected for a quite different purpose. See Bishop Newton's 10th Dis. 283—286. *Prid. Con.* p. i. b. 2. *Univ. Hist.* Octavo, Vol. iv.

31. *And Darius the Mede accepted.*—So Syr. and Ar. Five MSS.

accepted the kingdom, being about the age of sixty and two years.

and Heb. 240 make this verse to begin the next Chapter, and then it may be thus rendered—"When Darius the Mede accepted the kingdom, being about the age of sixty-two years, It pleased, &c."

Josephus records this history in the following manner, Ant. x. 11, 4, "Darius, who with the assistance of his kinsman Cyrus destroyed the Babylonian empire, was at that time in his sixty-second year, was the son of Astyages, and was called by another name among the Greeks: he carried the prophet Daniel with him into Media, and made him one of his three Satraps, whom he appointed to preside over the whole kingdom." The word דָּרְיוּשׁ Darius, seems of Persian origin; and though some have thought the termination to resemble the Greek *Δαριος*, yet Michaelis has obviated this objection, by shewing that Strabo has used the word *Dariekes* or *Dariebes*, for this word *Darièves*, and has considered it a barbarous (or Persic) word borrowed by the Greeks. See his Supplem. p. 464.

Jerom notes that for Darius LXX have Artaxerxes, which Secker says seems to deserve a good deal of notice, though little is taken of it. But Josephus calls the son of Xerxes by the name of Cyrus, whom he observes the Grecians call Artaxerxes; Ant. lib. xi. c. 6, so that the latter seems to have been a Grecian term corresponding to what was understood by *Cyrus*, or a general name given by the Greeks to the Kings of Persia.

CHAPTER VI.

1 IT pleased Darius to appoint over the kingdom a

THIS Chapter contains the History of Daniel's Preferment under Darius, of the Envy which it excited in the principal Officers of the State, and their Conspiracy against him on that account. By their means he is cast into a Den of Lions, but miraculously preserved from Injury; and the punishment is retorted upon his accusers, who are torn to pieces, and the King is brought to the acknowledgment and praise of the true God.

1. *It pleased Darius.*—That is, Cyaxares, whose father is called Assuerus, in the book of Tobit, Chap. xiv. 15, as he is also by Daniel, Chap. ix. 1, meaning in both places Astyages, or the King of Media that concurred with the Assyrian monarch in the destruction of Nineveh. See Prelim. Dis. &c. Herodotus and Xenophon make mention of an ancient gold coin called *Δαρεικος* or Daric, as is presumed by many writers, from this King; from the first Darius, according to Suidas, or one prior to Hystaspes. This coin seems to have been called by the like name after the captivity in Ezra ii. 69, and 1 Chron. xxix. 7. Sir Isaac Newton says he had seen one of them, and that it was stamped on one side with the effigies of an archer crowned with a spiked crown, with a bow in his left, and an arrow in his right hand, and clothed with a long robe, that it weighed two attic drams, and was of the value of the attic stater. Chron. of Ant. Kingd. p. 319.

The war with the Chaldeans, that ended in the destruction of Babylon, seems to have commenced originally on the part of the Medes, over whom the Babylonian queen Nitocris, according to Herodotus, had kept a jealous and watchful eye. Jeremiah, Chap. li. 11, 28, mentions the Kings of the Medes only as raised up against Babylon, and so Isa. Chap. xiii. 17, but elsewhere he joins the Elamites with them; and Thucydides, as has been before observed, generally calls the Persians Medes only. However, when Babylon was taken and subdued by the united powers of Media and Persia, Cyrus was pro-

hundred and twenty princes, who should be over the

bably induced to set over it this King of the Medes, in order to make the union of the two nations more easy, and to prepare matters better for the full establishment of the Persian empire. Cyaxares, as is generally agreed, reigned not more than two years; and during that term being only a sort of Vice-roy, or at least dependent upon Cyrus, the whole period of nine years is ascribed by Ptolemy to Cyrus, and no notice taken of Darius at all. See Prelim. Dis. Some assert that Xenophon assigns only seven years for the reign of Cyrus over the whole empire, from what others think the mistake of a passage in the eighth book of the Cyrop. The passage is this, “*μαλα δὲ πρεσβυτης ὡν ὁ Κυρος ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Περσας τὸ ἐβδόμον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς.*” Cyrus being now far advanced in years visits the Persians (according to Usher, Prideaux and Mr. Lowth) in the *seventh year* of his reign or empire; but Mr. Hutchinson has justly observed that the expression only means the seventh time since the commencement of his empire. And yet even in this sense, the argument will amount to the same, if we recollect that Cyrus, according to Xenophon, went to Babylon and spent a considerable time there once in every year, passing the seven winter months of the year in Babylon, three in the spring at Susa, and the two summer months at Ecbatane; so that the seventh time of his going thither after he was possessed of the empire must be the same as the seventh year of his reign.

The same Author, at p. 437, informs us, that after the return of Cyrus from the taking of Babylon he left Cyaxares the Mede, who had accompanied him to Media, in possession of the Babylonian government, and appointed him a house and a royal palace for his reception there, which he was to consider as his own, and retire to *ὡς οἰκεία*, as his own domestic property; that Cyaxares in consequence of this sent him his daughter, whom Cyrus, after he had settled in Persia, with the approbation of his parents married, so that Darius became his father in law as well as his uncle, and the whole kingdom of Media, as he had no son, was given in dower with her; and after the marriage and the settlement of his affairs in Persia, which events neither Cambyses nor Cyaxares seems to have long survived, Cyrus departed with her to Babylon.

Now though several of these circumstances, or at least the time fixed for them, may be considered as fictions, yet from what has been already advanced in the Prelim. Dis. we must agree with those writers

- 2 whole kingdom : And over these, three presidents, of which Daniel was one, that the princes might give an account to them, and the king have no damage.
-

who admit the ground-plot or general plan of the Cyrop. to be founded on real facts. Nor does it seem improbable that Cyrus married the daughter of Cyaxares, and that the other embellishments were added by Xenophon : Unless perhaps, and which is as material to our present purpose, the kingdom of Media by a familiar *prosopopœia* be all that is meant by the daughter, in allusion to the oriental manner, which this elegant Greek must have been well acquainted with. Thus the daughter of Zion and of Jerusalem, Isa. xxxvii. 22, means the inhabitants thereof, and the daughters of cities are the circumjacent towns and villages ; and the reversion of the kingdom of Media, which was perhaps the dearest pledge of Cyaxares' regard, by a fair analogy, might be the whole that was here meant to be given up, as a compensation for the immediate possession of the territory of Babylon. But I offer this as a mere conjecture, which may tend to remove an objection which some have conceived against the Cyrop. from this marriage of Cyrus : Yet I need not be solicitous for the truth of this event, as it is sufficient for my chief purpose, that there was such a person as Cyaxares, born among the Medes, and who presided over Babylon.

This Darius seems to have followed the same plan of Government over the provinces, which Xenophon tells us Cyrus did over the conquered nations, *ἔδοκει αὐτῷ σατραπίας ἡδὴ πεμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ κατεστραμμένα ἐθνη*. Cyr. l. viii, see also Esth. i. 1, and Archbishop Usher thinks the plan was first instituted by Cyrus, and pursued by Darius at his suggestion. Annals, p. 82. After the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, and of Thrace and India by Darius Hystaspes, seven other provinces were added, so that in the Persian empire were 127 provinces at the time of Esther.

2.—*presidents*.—Chald. סרביני. Th. τακτικούς. Aq. συνεκτικούς. Targum uses the word for the Heb. שוטרים Officers or Curators. It seems to have been the same sort of office with that conferred on Joseph by Pharaoh, Gen. xli. 41. "See I have set thee over all the land of Egypt." Grotius thinks these Eparchs were like the *Præfecti Prætorio* in the latter part of the Roman empire.

—*no damage*.—Chald. "might not suffer hurt or loss." The

- 3 Now this Daniel was superior to the presidents and
princes, because a more enlarged mind was in him,
and the king designed to appoint him over the whole
4 realm. Whereupon the presidents and princes were
seeking to find an action against Daniel on the side of
the kingdom; but they were unable to find any action
or fault, inasmuch as he was faithful, so that no error
5 or fault could be found in him. Therefore these men
said, We shall find no action against this Daniel,
unless we find it against him concerning the law of
6 his God. Then these presidents and princes came in
a concourse to the king, and spoke thus unto him;

Versions, "might have no trouble." It probably means that the King might be subject to no sort of inconvenience.

3. —*the King designed.*—Perhaps the verb עשׂית in this place is little more than an expletive, like the verb *δοκω* oftentimes in the New Testament. Thus Gr. and Ar. render, "and the King appointed him." The office in which he was placed seems to have been that of prime Minister, like the grand Visier among the Turks.

4. —*an action.*—I take the word עֲלֹה to be a kind of forensic term, of the like import with our English word *action*, or the Greek *αῖτια*: see John xix. 4, and the crime attempted to be fixed upon Daniel seems to have been a sort of treason, an attack on the constitution of the kingdom, or, as the Romans intimate, "*crimen læsæ Majestatis.*"

—*on the side of the kingdom.*—Gr. omits this. But MS. Pachom. has *ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας*, All. in Montf. *ἐκ πλαγίων βασιλείας*, and Syr. "in the administration of the kingdom."

5. —*concerning the law.* Chald. "in the law;" in his religious rites.

6. —*came in a concourse.*—Gr. *παρεστησαν*, and Syr. קרבו. Merely "they came." Vulg. "*surripuerunt*," intimating a kind of stealth and subtlety. But the true import of the verb *הִרְגִּשׁוּ* seems to be, "they tumultuously met;" see the margin of our English translation. The Princes came in a concourse, and together assailed the King with their proposal, they forced in. The word is read with Jod before Schin

- 7 King Darius, live for ever. All the presidents of the kingdom, the senators and the princes, the governors and the magistrates have consulted together to establish a royal statute, so as to confirm the obligation, that whosoever shall ask a request of any god or man for thirty days, but of thee, O king, shall be thrown
8 into the den of lions. Now, O king, establish the obligation, and sign the writing, that it be not

after the full Hebrew form by a great number of MSS. here, and at verses 11, and 15.

7. —*a royal statute.*—Chald. “a statute of the King.” So most of the Versions, except Syr. which reads the passage thus, “to enter into a league for the honour of the King, and to bind themselves with a bond.”

“Jupiter tells Diana (Callim. in Dian. ver. 34, 35,) that he gives her thirty cities, *τα μη θεον αλλον αεξειν εισεται αλλα μονην σε.* Holofernes in Judith iii. 8, insists that all nations should worship Nabuchodonosor only. Semiramis *ανθρωποισι οκοσοι Συριαν οικεουσι νομον εποιετο, εωτην μεν οκως θεον ιλασκειναι: θεων δε των αλλων και αυτης Ηρης αλογειν.* Lucian de Dea Syra.” Secker. The design of these ministers was doubtless to ensnare Daniel, and in order to do this more readily, they would suggest to Darius, that however he might have been represented as worn out with age and infirmities, and as a vassal to Cyrus, yet he was the sole and universal Lord of the empire, would cajole him with the offer of divine honours, so as partly by flattery, and partly by terror, to force his consent. It was a well known practice among the Pagans to deify their heroes in their panegyrics: Horace and Virgil did this to Augustus, and Pliny to Trajan; and the famous Pollio of Virgil in the intention of the Post was perhaps nothing more than an application to his hero of what he had collected from the Jewish and other predictions, concerning the birth and life of Christ at that time generally expected, and the blessings and benefits that were thence to accrue to the world.

—*into the den.*—The word *כא* signifies a pit or lake; and it was probably a place of very great depth, where the Lions were kept, and from which they could not climb up to escape. For the names of the officers in this verse, see on Chap. iii.

- changed, according to the law of the Medes and
 9 Persians which faileth not. Wherefore king Darius
 signed the writing and the obligation.
 10 Now Daniel, when he knew that the writing was
 signed, went up into his house, where his windows
 were opened in his upper chamber towards Jerusalem;
 and at three set times in the day he kneeled upon his
 knees, and prayed and offered up praises before his
 11 God, as he had done aforetime. Then these men

8. —*which faileth not.*—Chald. “passeth not away;” i. e. is constantly in force, and never fails. Some think that nothing more is meant than *written* laws, whereas matters were generally determined by the voice or law of the Judge.

10. —*was signed.*—Many MSS. drop the Jod in the participle, and read שָׁמַר as a verb. See on Chap. v. 24.

—*in his upper chamber.*—Gr. *εν τοις υπερωοις*. Wetstein in his Gr. Test. Acts i. 13, has a note on this term, where he observes from some of the Jewish Rabbins, that the houses of the Jews were generally divided into two principal parts, and that the *Υπερωον* was often inhabited by a sort of lodgers, or persons different from the proper occupiers of the house: But this could not be the case with persons of any distinction or eminence, as Daniel undoubtedly must have been; with such the upper chambers were reserved for especial purposes, as Oratories, or any other solemn and religious uses. See Mark xiv. 15. Shaw thinks these *υπερωα* were buildings detached from the house, often raised a story higher than it, to which there was a private stair-case. See his Travels, p. 280. In these upper rooms the light was admitted through windows, which in the lower parts was received through the doors; and these windows of Daniel were opened toward the holy city, whither the Jews had long wished and prayed for their return. See 1 Kings viii. 48. Hither he resorted three times a day; as Grotius thinks, at the hours of prayer which the later Jews acknowledged, and which were the third, the sixth, and the ninth, or rather with the Psalmist, in the evening, the morning, and at noon-tide, according to his accustomed manner: Thus following the dictates of his conscience, nor deterred therefrom by the certain apprehension of instant death, but, like Moses, preferring his duty to all the treasures and honours of the land.

- came in a concourse, and found Daniel making
 12 request and supplication before his God. Therefore
 they came near, and spoke before the king concerning
 the royal obligation: Hast thou not signed an obligation,
 that whatsoever person shall make a request of any
 God or man for thirty days, but of thee, O king, shall
 be thrown into the den of lions? The king answered
 thus, the matter is ratified according to the law of
 13 the Medes and Persians, which faileth not. They
 then replied before the king, Daniel, who is of the
 captives of Judah, hath paid no regard to thee, O king,
 nor to the obligation which thou hast signed, but at
 14 three set times in the day prefers his petition. Upon
 this the king when he had heard the report was sadly
 distressed, and set his heart upon Daniel to deliver him,

12. — *signed an obligation.*—Here the two clauses of ver. 8 and 9, are expressed in one and by a word borrowed from each. Probably to make the law irrevocable the King's signature was necessary. Moreover not only in the instance before us, but we learn from passages in the book of Esther, and from an account in Diod. Sic. that what the full sanction of the law had once enacted, the King himself could not alter; nor when Darius had ordered Charidemus for execution, though he accused himself of a grievous fault, was it in his power to reverse the sentence. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν δυνατόν το γεγονός δια τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἀγεννητὸν κατασκευάσαι. Diod. l. 17.

13. — *Daniel—hath paid no regard.*—The expletive ך is before Daniel; For the word בָּעֵינַי, *regard*, see on Chap. iii. 12, “prefers his petition,” an usual reduplication: petit petitionem.

14. — *was sadly distressed.*—The original expression is thus literally translated by Walton, “multum malum fuit super eo.” The verb בָּאֵשׁ in Hebrew signifies to be rotten or stinking, and hence in Chaldee בֵּישׁ or בֵּאִישׁ is used for such great distress, as may prey upon the mind, and occasion rottenness in the bones; he was very much troubled and sorely displeased with himself, so as to set his heart to deliver him. The word בֵּל *heart* is by a metathesis the Heb. לֵב; and the expression here used by the Greek Interpreter is very strong, ἡγωνισατο, his anxiety to save him was so great as to

- and till the going down of the Sun he exerted himself
 15 to deliver him. But at the same time these men assembled in a concourse about the king, and spoke unto the king, Know, O king, that the law of the Medes and Persians is, that every obligation and statute which the
 16 king establisheth is not to be changed. Wherefore the king commanded, and they brought Daniel, and threw him into the den of lions; when the king said thus unto Daniel, thy God, whom thou servest continually,
 17 may he deliver thee. Also a stone was brought and laid upon the mouth of the den, and the king sealed it

throw him in an agony. See a like form of expression but with an opposite signification at ver. 23, "He was very happy or much pleased."

— *till the going down of the Sun.*—Chald. ער כעלי, which Houbigant understands, "till the Sun arose;" but it rather seems to mean "till the goings in or settings of the Sun," from עלל ingressus est, ἐως προς δυσμας ηλιου. Αλλ. in Bahrdt's Hexap.

15. — *the Medes and Persians.*—Some conclude, and not without reason, that the two powers being constantly mentioned together in this book, is a presumption that Darius and Cyrus reigned jointly: and while the sovereignty over Babylon, the residence of the Jews during the captivity, belonged to Darius, the Medes are named first; but afterwards the Persians are first in the book of Esther, Chap. i. 19, when the sole monarch was a Persian.

16. — *may he deliver thee.*—Chald. "he will deliver thee," and so Vulg. and Gr. but Syr. and Ar. render optatively, which seems best: see ver. 20. In the preceding part of this verse, the words might be rendered by an usual enallage; "and Daniel was brought and thrown, &c." which would prevent the introduction of the pronoun, "they threw *him*;" but Gr. has αὐτον, and two MSS. read רמיו.

17. — *a stone was—laid—and—sealed.*—Chald. One, or a single stone, meaning a large one; so Syr. and MS. Pachom. This must naturally remind us of the like circumstances which happened at the interment of our Saviour, of whom Daniel, in this case at least, has by many been considered as a type. See Mat. xxvii. 60, 66.

with his own signet, and with the signet of his nobles, that the resolution should not be changed concerning Daniel.

- 18 Then the king departed to his palace, and passed the night fasting; nor was a table introduced before him,

The design of the King and of the nobles in sealing the stone was probably different; the latter feared the King lest he should release Daniel; the former was apprehensive that some other injury might be done to him beyond the power of the wild beasts. Hence Vulg. renders the conclusion of the verse “ne quid fieret contra Danielelem;” and indeed the word צִבּוּר or צְבוּתָא seems to denote not merely a purpose or resolution, but largely the same as דָּבָר, or thing; Gr. *πράγμα*; and the like is the sense of the Syr. and Ar. “that nothing should be changed.”

Archbishop Secker notes from Arrian, l. vi. c. 29, that Alexander ordered the entrance into the tomb of Cyrus to be stopped up with stone and mortar, *και επιβαλειν τω πηλω το σημειον το βασιλικον*; and that on his tomb he is called *ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν Περσῶν καταστησάμενος*. This method of securing the sepulchres of illustrious persons was therefore probably not very uncommon in the East; which consideration will afford an additional illustration to that prediction of Isaiah concerning the death of Christ, Chap. liii. 9,

“Though his grave was appointed with the malefactors,
Yet with the rich was his tomb.”

18. —*passed the night fasting*.—Chald. בַּת שׁוּת. The word בַּת שׁוּת is used in the Targum for לֵון *pernoctavit*; and Bochart considers בַּת שׁוּת in the Phœnician language to signify night, and בּוּתָא the night-owl, and says moreover that the word is well known among the Chaldeans, Syrians, and Arabs. The other word שׁוּת, as the Rabbins observe, has the sense of צִם *jejunus*, and agrees with the Arabic שׁוּי; see Cast. Lex.

—*a table*.—Chald. דְּחֹן. Most of the versions render thus, “and food was not set before him;” which seems to denote, that he was determined to fast, and had given orders accordingly; and so Josephus understands it, “without repast or repose.” But one MS. reads דְּחֹן from חֹרָה *latari*, and our translators have followed the sense of some of the Jewish Rabbins who have derived the word from

- 19 and his sleep was far from him. At length the king
 arose early in the morning with the light, and went in
 20 haste to the den of lions. And when he came near to
 the den, he cried to Daniel with a doleful voice: The
 king spoke thus to Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the
 living God, hath thy God, whom thou servest continu-
 21 ally, been able to deliver thee from the lions? Then
 22 Daniel addressed the king, O king, live for ever. My

that source, or from דָּחַק impulit, and look upon it to mean “instruments of music,” such as had usually been introduced for the King’s evening-entertainment. Some consider the word as of Arabic origin, the same as דָּחַק a sort of perfume or incense, not uncommon among the luxuries of the East; and hence Houbigant concludes, that for *ἄδυσματα* meats, the Gr. Interpreter originally wrote *ἡδυσματα*, *aromatics*; “*nec allata est suavitas odorum.*” It is added, “and his sleep was far from him,” נָדַח, which denotes a very distant separation as of something unclean. At the close of the verse Gr. and Ar. read, “And God shut the mouths of the Lions, that they did not hurt Daniel.”

20. *And when he came near—he cried—with a doleful voice.*—Ten MSS. of Kenn. and many more of De Rossi, with many Editions, read the first word of this verse with Beth instead of Caph, which is preferable, as it denotes the instant cry of the King at his approach to the den. Gr. Ar. and Syr. read “with a strong or loud voice,” that is, such as pains the ear; and a great number of MSS. read the participle זָעַק instead of the verb זָעַק. “Crying with a doleful voice the King spoke, &c.”

21. —*live for ever.*—לְעַלְמֵיךְ in *sæcula*, or “long live the King:” an usual mode of addressing the monarch. When He in his turn addressed the people, it was, as we have seen, “Your peace be multiplied;” see ver. 25. And when the people saluted one another, it was according to the mode now practised, as Shaw tells us, among the Bedoween Arabs, “Peace be unto you.” Mr. Bruce intimates that when individuals or clans of suspected persons meet each other, if the one party pronounces this *Salam Alicum*, and it is returned by the other Alicum Salam, it is a sure indication that no evil is intended on either part.

God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the mouths of the lions, that they have not hurt me, inasmuch as before him integrity was found in me, and also before
 23 thee, O king, have I done no hurt. At this the king was exceedingly pleased, and commanded to bring up

22. — *hath shut the mouths of the lions.*—See 2 Tim, iv. 17, and also Heb. xi. 33. In the former passage the Apostle seems to have an eye to the severe edicts and persecutions of Nero; in the latter the allusion is probably to the text before us, and ver. 23. Tertullian, Apolog. cap. 40, intimates that the Heathens imputing the cause of all public calamities unto the Christians, would cry out, “Christianos ad Leones.”

There is a passage in Dion Cassius, and another in Tacitus, which I shall mention here as they seem somewhat to our present purpose. Serapion an Egyptian was ordered to be thrown to a lion, because he had said Antoninus would live but a short time, and Macrinus would be his successor, *επει δε ουκ ηψατο αυτου την χειρα μονον ως φασι προτεωαντος εφονευθη· δυνηθεις αν (ως γε εφη) μηδε τουτο παθειν δαιμονων τινων επικλησει, ει μιαν ημεραν εβεβιωκει.* Dio. l. lxxxviii. p. 882. Post quum ei manum porrigenti leo pepercisset, ut aiunt, occisus fuerat, quum posset, sicuti dicebat, si unum præterea diem vixisset, invocatis nonnullis dæmonibus, hoc malum effugere. The passage in Tacitus is this, Captus in eo prælio Mariceus ac mox feris objectus, quia non laniabatur, stolidum vulgus inviolabilem credebat, donec spectante Vitellio interfectus est. Hist. l. ii. 61. The barbarous custom appears from these examples to have been sometimes practised; but that Daniel should be spared, and his accusers destroyed, by the same lions, can leave no doubt of the miracle.

— *integrity was found in me.*—זכוּ by an apocope for זכוּת, see Chap. iv. 36. Gr. has *ευθνης*. The Prophet having neither justly offended God nor the King, very truly offers the righteousness of his cause as the reason of the divine interference for his security; not from any ostentatious display of his own merit, but to direct the attention of the King to the power and providence of that great Being who is mighty to save, and whose favour is more to be regarded than life itself.

23. — *was exceedingly pleased.*—See ver. 14. I would only

- Daniel out of the den, and when Daniel was brought up out of the den, there was no hurt found upon him,
 24 because he believed in his God. Moreover the king commanded, and those men were brought who had set forth invidious accusations against Daniel, and were thrown into the den of lions, themselves, their children, and their wives, and they reached not the bottom of the den, ere the lions had the mastery of them, and broke in pieces all their bones.
- 25 Then king Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth, Peace be multiplied unto you. I set forth a decree, that throughout
 26 the whole dominion of my realm, ye tremble and fear before the God of Daniel; for he is the God that liveth and is stedfast for ever, and his kingdom shall not perish, and his dominion shall be even unto the end.

observe here, that the word עליוהי in both places may either denote "for him," i. e. Daniel, or "within himself." I have followed the latter sense with Syr. but Vulg. Gr. and Ar. prefer the former, "was exceeding glad for him." And so Eng. Transl.

24. —*the king commanded.*—Chald. "spoke:" suitable to the edict of an eastern monarch, and therefore the latter word should be retained, where it can be done with propriety. In Cod. Chis. it then follows, "And these two men were brought, &c."

—*set forth invidious accusations against Daniel.*—See a like expression at Chap. iii. 8. There is also a Pleonasm of the Affix, "against him, even Daniel;" and so at ver. 26.

The suffering of the children and families of these false accusers, however it may seem irreconcilable with natural justice, has some examples that may possibly serve to vindicate it in extraordinary cases; but we need not be anxious to vindicate the conduct and practices of eastern despots.

26. —*his kingdom shall not perish.*—So Eng. Transl. of 1599. The verb is in Ithp. and denotes "shall not corrupt itself, or be destroyed." The characters of the Deity in this and the next verse, are very just and sublime, and suited to his nature, and were probably

- 27 He delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh signs and wonders in the heaven and in the earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions. So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.
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such as Darius had learnt from Daniel. Some think that he was a convert to the worship of the true God; and this, together with the favours shewn to the Prophet, may in some measure account for the notice taken of his reign: Many other reasons may also be assigned from a reflection on various parts of this book, and especially at Chap. ix.

27. *He delivereth.*—The word כְּשִׁיב is written differently in the MSS. and afterward in this verse we find שִׁיב, which seems more agreeable to the form of the Chald. participle; but many MSS. in the latter case, and, among them, the ancient Bodleian, read שִׁיב, which is probably the true reading of the verb.

28. —*the Persian.*—Several MSS. read פֶּרְסִיָּא with Keri. D'Herbelot tells us, (Bibl. Orient.) "that Cyrus gave Daniel the government of Syria;" but, if this was true, it does not appear that he ever returned to preside over it; nor probably could his age admit of it.

CHAPTER VII.

I IN the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon, Daniel saw a dream, even visions of his head upon his

THE Historical Part of the Book of Daniel was finished with the last Chapter; the remaining part of this Book acquaints us with the Visions which at different times were communicated to the Prophet himself. The Interval of Time from the first to the last of these Visions is about one or two and twenty Years, i. e. from the first Year of Belshazzar mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter to the third Year of Cyrus at the beginning of Chapter 10th. The first Vision or Dream is contained in the 7th Chapter, and is the only one that is written in the Chaldee Language; and perhaps the Similarity of it to the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar which the Prophet had related and expounded at Chapter ii. might have been *one* reason why this same Language was here adopted, and the Benefit designed by it for the impious King in whose reign it was delivered *another*. What was there prefigured by a large Statue, composed of various metals, is here pointed at by a very different sort of Emblems, each suited to the Disposition or Character of the Persons to whom the Communications were made. Four Beasts are in this Dream, designed to signify the four great Monarchies or Kingdoms, according to the Interpretation of an Angel; and some Circumstances relating to the fourth Beast are probably intended to adumbrate a Series of Events which were to reach to the latest Ages of the World.

1. — *Belshazzar King of Babylon.*—Gr. and Ar. “King of the Chaldeans.” Many Editions, and some MSS. read “Belashtzar,” as it were deriving the latter part of the word from אש fire, and צר an enemy; according to Grotius denoting “*Belum esse ignis hostici*,” or to be burnt by an hostile flame; see Jer. l. 2, and li. 44, but a very great number of MSS. and particularly the ancient Bodleian, read the word as it now stands.

bed, at which time he wrote the dream, and related the sum of the matters.

- 2 Daniel related thus, I was seeing in my visions of the night, and behold the four winds of heaven burst

—*he wrote the dream.*—From hence it appears that the Prophet certainly wrote some of his prophecies; and it seems from Chap. xii. 4, that he was expressly ordered by God to do so. What is advanced therefore from the authority of the Talmudists in Bava Bathra, c. i. is absurd, that the whole of this book of Daniel was written by persons of the great Synagogue. The following clause of this verse, “and related the sum of the matters,” is omitted by Gr. and Ar. and has certainly the appearance of a gloss. Yet MS. Pachom. has *αρχη λογων αυτου, και αποκριθεις ειπεν*, marked with points; and Theodoret has the same words without the points. See the Note at the close of the Chapter.

2. —*in my visions of the night.*—The preposition ע has this sense. See Nold. p. 576. The words however are not found in the Greek of Theodotion either here or at ver. 7, but Theodoret has them, and MS. Pachom. and Copt. There is an expression equivalent to this, and very little varied from it, at Chap. ii. 19. That by Visions of the night are meant Dreams we may learn from Job. iv. 13. And of the revelations that were primarily made to Daniel, contained in this latter part of his book, the only instance wherein the divine intelligence is said to be communicated to him in a vision of the night, or a dream, is this before us. See Zech. iv. 1.

—*the four winds of heaven burst forth.*—Chald. מַגִּידִין “erumpentes;” they met with an eruptive vehemence upon the great sea, as the Mediterranean is called, by way of distinction from the lesser seas or lakes in Judea. This description of a tempest is short, but very forcible; and in its simple form perhaps equally impressive with that animated one of Virgil,

Una Eurisque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus.

Æn. i. 89.

The raging of the waves and the madness of the people have long since been considered as analogous, and the vicinity of the several kingdoms to the great sea, may serve to illustrate farther the propriety

3 forth into the great sea. And four large beasts came
 4 up from the sea, different from each other. The first
 was like a Lion, but had the wings of an eagle : I was

of the Prophet's analogy. From the various tumults and commotions, with which the countries around this sea were agitated, the four larger monarchies or empires emerged or came up, as the next verse intimates ; and their various ravages, idolatry, and tyranny, sufficiently justify the allusion to wild beasts.

4. *The first was like a Lion.*—The Chaldee or Babylonian empire compared to the Head of Gold in Chap. ii. 32, 38, is here represented as like a Lion or Lioness ; see Jer. iv. 7. Its progress to what was then deemed universal empire was rapid, and therefore it has the wings of an eagle. See Jer. xlviii. 40, and Ezek. xvii. 3. I. D. Michaelis intimates from Megasthenes and Strabo, that this power advanced as far as Spain. When its wings were plucked or torn out, that is, when it was checked in its progress by frequent defeats (and that this is the meaning here intended may appear from a like expression in Cicero's Epistle to Atticus, l. iv, *Qui mihi pennas inciderant, nolunt easdem renasci*), when it was thus curtailed and humbled, it became more peaceable and humane, agreeably to that idea of the Psalmist, ix. 20.

Bring terror upon them, Jehovah,
 That the nations may acknowledge themselves men.

Some think, that the Prophet alludes here to the changes which Nebuchadnezzar underwent, although he was now dead ; and that he was a proper emblem of the future changes of his empire ; and especially that his being raised or lifted up from the ground, means his being restored from the prone posture of a quadruped to the erect or human. The Prophet no doubt must well recollect the emblem, and the circumstances relating to it might be so strong in his mind, as to insinuate themselves unavoidably into this part of the present vision.

It may also be proper to observe, that though the dream of Nebuchadnezzar concerning the image, and this of Daniel's beasts, agree in their general sense and interpretation, yet there are circumstances added to the latter, as well as some points more plainly illustrated, than were found in the former. Nebuchadnezzar saw his kingdom

seeing till its wings were plucked, wherewith it was raised up from the ground, and it became erect on the feet like a man, and a man's heart was given unto it.

- 5 And behold another beast, a second, like to a Bear, which was raised up on one side, and three tusks were

flourishing ; Daniel saw it, when its wings were plucked, and its end approaching. Other particulars will be readily observed by the attentive reader in the subsequent parts of the vision : and especially the stone that became a mountain and filled the whole earth, will here appear to be more fully explained by the Son of Man, who came to the Ancient of days, and was advanced to a kingdom of universal and endless duration.

5. — *on one side.*—The word שטר signifies either dominion or a side ; in the latter case the ש is read like ס, and nine MSS. of Kenn. with many more of De Rossi, and some Editions, read שטר ; the Versions also favour this reading, and the Heb. Cod. 240, which has לקצת אחד, *on one part*. Some think the allusion is to the eastern quarter of the world whence the Persians came ; others to the elevation of the Persians above the Medes and Babylonians, which three powers are conceived to be meant by the three ribs or tusks in the mouth of the bear ; but others consider Babylon, Lydia, and Egypt, as the ribs. Jerom refers the allusion to the land of Judea, which was favoured by Cyrus, and whose dominion was established *on one side* of it ; but I am inclined to think the expression ought rather to be referred to the situation of the former beast, on one side of which, or near to Chaldea, and by conquests over the neighbouring countries, this second empire was established.

— *three tusks.*—Vulg. has Ordines : Gr. πλευραι. Heb. 240 צלעות. The original word seems to denote something prominent, or penetrating, either from עלה in altum tendere, or עלל intrare ; the bear is called by Aristotle ζων πμφάγον, a most voracious animal ; and the command given to it in the subsequent part of the verse indicates its rapacious nature. From these considerations I have rather supposed the idea of tusks more natural and agreeable to the sense of the original than the term *ribs*, which seems far-fetched and rather inapplicable ; inasmuch that Houbigant ridicules the notion, and wonders that Arias Montanus and others could discover ribs in the mouth of an animal. He renders the word *jaws*, and refers to Job

in its mouth among its teeth ; and thus they spoke to
 6 it, Rise, devour much flesh. After this I was seeing,
 and behold another, like a Leopard, which had four
 bird's wings upon its back ; four heads also had the

xxxix. 30. The three *tusks* may refer to the three different points to which the Persians pushed their conquests : Coming from the East they invaded the western, southern, and northern territories ; and thus we read in the next Chap. ver. 4, that the ram pushed westward and northward, and southward. And that great havoc among the human race was made by the Persians may be learnt from Jer. li. 56, and also from the revolt of the Hyrcanians, and of Gobryas in the fourth book, and from other parts of the Cyropædia, as well as from most of the historians.

6. — *upon its back*.—Gr. and Vulg. “upon it.” The word גביה loses its Jod in very many MSS. as well as in the Masora, yet Syr. seems to retain the plural form, and renders, “on its sides.” As the second beast or the bear answered to the silver in the image, the third or the leopard agrees with the brass. Many fanciful resemblances have been pointed out by various commentators between the second beast and the Persians, and between the third beast and the Grecians or Macedonians. Alexander is especially thought to resemble the leopard, and in many respects doubtless the parallel must hold. His well known reply, to one who asked him how he obtained so many signal victories, of μηδεν ἀναβαλλομενος, is quite consonant with the celerity of the leopard, and the method by which it leaps on its prey ; as his daring to engage with Darius and the most powerful princes is illustrative of the leopard's spirit and courage, which will rouse it to a contest with the largest and fiercest wild beasts. See Hab. i. 8. By the four wings on its back or sides seems to be meant the union of the four empires, the Assyrian, Median, Persian, and Grecian ; or, as some think, Persia, Greece, Egypt and India ; and the rapidity with which they were united under Alexander is fitly denoted by the character of wings. After the death of Alexander, the partition of his kingdom into four parts is probably what is meant by the four heads of the beast ; See on Chap. viii. 8. And if we reflect on the small beginnings of this power, the difficulties which it surmounted, and the vast strides it made toward universal empire, extending its conquests as far as the Ganges in so short a space as twelve years, (1 Mac. i. 7.)

- 7 beast, and dominion was given to it. I was seeing after this in the visions of the night, and behold a fourth beast formidable and terrible, and strong exceedingly,

we shall not be at a loss to assign a fair interpretation for the last clause of this verse, and to conclude that such dominion was the gift of God.

7. — *a fourth beast.*—Many MSS. favour the reading of Keri in the word רביעאה, and in the omission of Jod in ברנליה *with its feet*: the MSS. also in the word אמתני read Jod after Aleph, which is most agreeable to the original form of the word from אים *formidabilis*. Also in the next verse, Keri and some MSS. consider the Vau as redundant in ביניהון *among them*.

Interpreters differ very much in their opinions of this fourth beast, and the little horn that came up among its ten horns. All however agree that the beast corresponds with the iron in the image; which I have shewed at Chap. ii. must refer to the Roman empire, which spread its arms and terrors to a much greater extent than either of the preceding powers, and whose legs and feet of iron are here the large iron teeth of the beast. Sir Isaac Newton has observed that it conquered the kingdom of Macedon, with Illyricum and Epirus, in the eighth year of Antiochus Epiphanes, an. Nabonassar. 580; and inherited that of Pergamus A. N. 615; and conquered that of Syria A. N. 679; and that of Egypt A. N. 718, or about thirty years before Christ: By which and other conquests it became greater and more terrible than any of the former beasts. Obser. on Dan. Chap. iv. Its devastation, especially in Judea, seems marked in the verse before us; "it devoured and broke in pieces, and trampled upon the remains:" the plunder which could not be converted to their own immediate advantage the Romans gave up to others, thus completely reducing towns and countries. That it was different from all the beasts that were before it is intimated by its having no name, being more cruel and horrid than any sort of beasts whatever; and the Roman power was so multiform, that it could not be pointed out by any one species of resemblance. But its chief distinction consisted in that it had ten horns, which we find, at ver. 24, are ten kings or kingdoms. See also Rev. xvii. 12. Some think this a definite number for an indefinite, and that it relates to the Roman provinces; but, as Secker observes, it doth not appear that any of the numbers in Daniel mean uncertainty.

which had large teeth of iron; it devoured and broke in pieces, and trampled upon the remains with its feet, and it was distinguished from all the beasts that were
 8 before it, for it had ten horns. As I was attentive to the horns, behold another little horn grew up among them, and three of the former horns were torn out before it, and behold eyes like human eyes were in that
 9 horn, and a mouth speaking presumptuous things. I was seeing, till the thrones were placed, and the Ancient

Porphyry, as Jerom says, picked out of all the Greek kingdoms ten of the most cruel kings, and assigned these as the ten horns. Grotius and his adherents mention ten kings in the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, the successors of Alexander, who exercised cruelties towards the Jews: Others will have these horns to be the ten persecuting emperors. But Sir Isaac Newton, in his Observations, Chap. vi. has pointed out ten kings in the Roman empire with better success: See on ver. 24. And these are also the ten toes of the image. The empire continued in its greatness till the reign of Theodosius the great, and soon afterwards the partition happened; and the broken form remained, or the ten kingdoms were to be no more united, till the Ancient of days should come. Yet, after all, R. Jacchiades is of opinion, that the time of the ten horns is not yet come, and that the eleventh will perhaps be Gog and Magog.

8. —*another little horn.*—Some understand by this Antiochus Epiphanes; others one of the first Cæsars; others refer it to the Turkish empire, and will have Egypt, Asia and Greece to be the three horns torn up or reduced by the Turk; but the more general and better opinion refers it to Antichrist, or the papal usurpation. See on ver. 24. The eyes like human eyes indicate the perspicacity and cunning of this power; and the mouth speaking great or presumptuous things is not unlike the character of St. Paul's *man of sin*, "whose coming should be after the working of Satan, with signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness." 2 Thess. ii. 9, 10. See also Rev. xiii. 5, 6.

9. —*the thrones were placed.*—Our translation reads, "cast down;" meaning that all the earthly kingdoms were brought to an end; but the word may be rendered "were pitched," or set down, for the

of days sitting: His Raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool, his throne was
 10 flames of fire, his wheels the ardent fire. A fiery stream trailed and issued from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand ten

reception of the Deity and his assessors the saints; See Matt. xix. 28, and Rev. iv. 4, and this sense the versions follow. "Raymund, pug. fid. p. 276, in Michaelis, cites the Talmudists as saying, that one throne should be put for God, another for David or his Son: And Ps. cx. authorises the notion of an assessor to God." Secker.

—*Ancient of days.*—ΑΛΛ. in Bahrds's Hex. ὁ παλαιὸν τὰς ἡμέρας. "He that maketh the days old," and consequently ready to expire or cease. By this term is undoubtedly meant the Deity, the supreme eternal Spirit, whom the Prophet thus describes, if we follow the sense of the versions, to adapt himself to human apprehensions, and to make the following part of his description more intelligible; but no similitude is pointed out, nor ought we from hence to attempt to represent by any figure the invisible God. Image worship was not allowed the Jews under a less perfect dispensation, and therefore must be very ill suited to the spirituality of the Christian service. The purity and sanctity of the Divine Nature are next adumbrated by similar allusions; and if the reader is desirous to see a full illustration of the manner in which the corporal members or certain acts of the human frame are to be understood, when applied in Scripture to God, he may consult Dr. Sam. Clarke's Sermons, vol. i. Disc. v. on the Spirituality of the Divine Nature, and Archb. Secker's Lect. on the Catech. vol. i. 8vo. p. 168, &c. The throne and wheels of fire at the conclusion of this verse may serve to denote his dread majesty, that pierces and penetrates all things, summons all to his judgment, and executes in an instant his sovereign will and final determinations. See Rev. iv. 2, &c. and Ezek. i. Grotius observes that the ancient thrones and sellæ curules had wheels.

10. *A fiery stream.*—Three MSS. omit the first three words of this verse, and the last clause of the foregoing, and seem to read thus, "his throne was flames of fire trailing and issuing from his presence." MS. A. εἰλκεν ἐκπορευόμενος, trailed when issuing.

—*thousand thousands.*—Many MSS. follow Keri, and read אלפיִן with the Chald. termination; and soon after רבבִין, the reading of the

thousands assisted before him: the Council sate, and the
 11 books were opened. I was attentive at this time on account of the voice of the presumptuous words which the horn spoke. I was attentive till the beast was slain, and its body destroyed, and it was delivered up to the burning

Masorettes, is supported by several MSS. The allusion in this verse is to the Sanhedrim, or great council of the Jews: Syr. reads, "the judge sate," and by the books that were opened must be meant, those evidences that contained the laws and will of God, whether natural or revealed, those in which the actions of men with all their circumstances of aggravation or extenuation are recorded, those in which the clearest and completest conviction is adduced, in order to render the judgment such as that all shall be obliged to acknowledge it the result of the most perfect truth and consummate justice. See Rev. xx. 12.

11.—*I was attentive.*—"Spectabam attentus." Grot. The former part of this verse is not in the Syriac Version; and I suspect the second word in the verse should be חיות "the beast:" four MSS. seem to favour this reading by dropping the Jod, and beginning with Cheth instead of He. If this be admitted, we should render thus, "Looking at the beast at this time on account of the voice—I was attentive till the beast was slain." This seems a better sense, and the tautology is avoided.

—*and its body destroyed, and it was delivered up.*—The former verb is masculine, and agrees with body; the latter is feminine, and must refer to the beast; and though the sense may seem not materially affected in either case, yet the observation will be of use in explaining the next verse.

The final overthrow, or total abolition of this beast, on account of the blasphemies or presumptions of the eleventh horn, is here described; and the reference is probably to that awful reckoning, when the beast and the false prophet were to be cast alive into a lake of fire, burning with brimstone; and to this the fire, the judgment, and the entire destruction of the beast naturally lead our attention. See Rev. xix. 20. The ingenious Author of a late Treatise intitled, "The Revelation of St. John Considered as alluding to certain Services of the Jewish Temple," has the following observation on this vision, p. 372.

- 12 of fire. Also of the rest of the beasts their dominion
 was made to pass away, but a continuance in life was
 13 given them until a limited period or a time. I continued seeing in the visions of the night, when behold in the clouds of heaven was coming one like the Son of

“The Prophecy of Daniel has here reached the fall of the spiritual Babylon of St. John, previous to the introduction of the kingdom of the Messiah: The lake of fire of the one is the same as the burning flame (or burning of fire) of the other, into which the body of the beast was seen to be cast.” See Rev. xiv. 8, &c., and xvi. 19.

12 —*the rest of the beasts.*—Mr. Mede in B. iv. Epist. 24, 25, understands the word רִיבוֹתָא in the sing. number as applicable to the fourth beast, or the residue of it, i. e. the other parts beside the body, as the ten horns, and the little horn, or the several kingdoms arising out of the fourth empire; but it appears from the last note that this beast was delivered up to be burnt, as well as its body to be destroyed; which consideration may serve as an answer to the chief of Mr. Mede’s arguments: And the reference here must rather be to the preceding beasts of this vision; which, though they had lost their former dignity, were yet suffered to continue in life, and perhaps to retain their names, at least for a certain time, while the other should totally perish and be forgotten.

—*or a time.*—I take the Vau to be explanatory: The word וְזֶמַן is sometimes used for an appointed season, or a solemnity: See on ver. 25: here it is confined to the progress of duration by this other word that follows, “that is, a time.” See Chap. ii. 21, and Eccles. iii. 1.

13. —*was coming one like the Son of man.*—MS. Pach, ἐρχομενος ην, and so Chald. This, in the opinion of all commentators, corresponds with the stone that struck the image at Chap. ii. verses 34 and 45. The Jews acknowledge that by the Son of man is meant the Messiah; and the description of the coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven, is exactly what our Saviour applies to himself, when solemnly adjured by the High Priest to declare whether he was the Christ, the Son of God. Matt. xxvi. 64. See also Psalm civ. 3, and Isa. xix. 1. R. Isaac, l. i. c. 41, intimates, that the Jews call the Messiah *Hanani* from the term עָנָנִי, *the clouds*, in this pas-

- 14 man, who advanced even to the Ancient of days : And when they had brought him near before him, He gave him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all peoples,

sage of Daniel. Nor do the heathen seem to have been unacquainted with this idea ; as they have sometimes invoked their deities as veiled in a cloud,

tandem venias precamur
Nube candentes humeros amictus
Augur Apollo. HOR. l. i. Od. 2.

Those who have explained the fourth beast to be some of the successors of Alexander, have supposed the Roman people to be meant here by the Son of man ; but this gloss is certainly frigid, and ill-adapted to the language and description contained in these verses, or to the stone which became a mountain, crushed in pieces all the other parts of the statue, and filled the whole earth.

14. *And when they had brought him near before him, He gave him, &c.*—The original is undoubtedly capable of being rendered in this manner ; and I prefer it, on account of the connexion between the two clauses ; for, whether we refer the former clause, agreeably to most of the versions, to the offering of himself which was made by the Son of man, or to his exaltation at the right hand of God, or merely to the honour of nearer access to Him, and higher dignity, as at Numb. xvi. 5 ; in either sense, the dominion that followed is, and ought to be, considered as the consequent reward. There is a passage in the book of Jeremiah, Chap. xxx. 21, which may throw considerable light on this before us, and which Bp. Chandler thinks is spoken of the Messiah, the prince of the Jews :

- “ And his prince shall be of his own race,
“ And his ruler shall go forth from the midst of him ;
“ And when I shall have made him an offering, he shall come near unto me ;
“ For who *like* this same hath freely pledged himself, that he might come near to me,
“ Saith Jehovah ?”

Whatever relation this passage may have in its primary sense to the governors and princes of Jacob being natives and not foreigners, I can-

nations, and languages should serve him ; his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom such as shall not perish.

15 As to me Daniel, my spirit was pierced with horror

not but think that, in its more distant view at least, and by a fair and just construction, it has a plain reference to Christ ; and I find this sense adopted in Jonathan's Targum. There appears to be some difficulty in the last line, at the beginning ; but if the particle of similitude Caph be understood, which is very common, it will be removed ; and the expression "to pledge his heart," may mean heartily or freely to offer himself as a pledge or surety.

Now, according to the sense which this passage suggests, the fulfilling of the prophecy will appear to be thus declared in the New Testament. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree ; Him hath God exalted to be a prince and a Saviour, and set at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality and power, and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come ; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth : And he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet : Then when all things shall be subdued unto him, shall the Mediator's kingdom cease, and God shall be all in all ; yet still Christ shall reign as God for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end. Acts v. 30. Ephes. i. 20. Phil. ii. 10. 1 Cor. xv. 25. Luke i. 33.

Interpreters have distinguished the kingdom of the Stone into two parts ; one of the Stone, properly so called, the other of the Mountain ; the former hath already appeared after our Lord's resurrection, and the latter is yet to come. The preceding description must be extended to both ; and the Son of man must reign over his Church on earth till he has subdued Antichrist, crushed the usurpations of the little horn of the fourth beast, and trodden down all his enemies : After this, "he shall return in the clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him ; he shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty Angels in flaming fire, when he shall take vengeance on those that know not God, but shall be glorified in his saints, and admired in all them that believe." Rev. i. 7, 2 Thess. i.

15. *As to me, Daniel.*—Chald. "My spirit, I Daniel." The nomin-

in the midst of my body, and the visions of my head
 16 disturbed me. I advanced towards one of those that
 assisted, and inquired of him an exact account concern-
 ing the whole of this; which he related to me, and
 made me acquainted with the interpretation of the
 17 matters. These large beasts which are four, are four
 18 kings that shall arise in the earth. Yet the Saints of

ative pronoun **אני** is not unusually thus rendered, when the preceding affix points out the case. See Gen. xxvii. 34, and other places in this book, as ver. 28, and Chap. viii. 1 and 15. See also Bp. Newcome's note on Zech. vii. 5, where he observes from Buxt. and Schultens, that there is an elegant emphasis in this idiom.

—*my body*.—Chald. “my sheath;” by a metaphor; for the body, according to Ab. Ezra, may be considered as the sheath of the mind: but Gr. has, *ἐν τῇ ἐξέ μου*, in my habit; and Syr. “in my couch, or bed.” J. D. Michaelis suggests, that for **בגו נדנדה** we may, by a different distribution of the letters, read **בגון דנה**, propter hoc. Vulg. “in his.” See his Suppl. on **נרן**.

17. —*in the earth*.—See this sense of **מן** in Nold. p. 512. So Gr. and Syr. But Vul. Gr. and Ar. read here “four kingdoms,” and some think that by **מן ארעה** “from or out of the earth,” they are opposed to the kingdom of Christ, or the Son of man, which was from heaven. In this and the next verse is contained the interpretation given by one of the angels, probably Gabriel, which is the substance or epitome of the vision. At the close of this verse the Greek interpreter has *αὐτὰ ἀρθήσονται*, “which shall be taken away;” and so the Ar. Possibly they might find in their copies **די יקדחו**, but I know of no other authority to support such reading, unless its resemblance to the word that begins the next verse might account for its being dropped; or possibly that word **ויקבלון** might have been repeated, and be here understood passively, “and shall be snatched away by force” to another Power: However the sense is complete enough without any alteration.

18. —*The saints*.—This verse is variously understood, according to the different construction of the nouns in the first clause: The word **קדשי**, “the saints,” not having the particle **די** before it, nor the noun preceding in the usual form of what is called *statūs constructi*, should rather be considered, according to the versions, as the

- the most High shall assume the kingdom, and shall possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.
- 19 Then I desired an accurate information concerning the fourth beast, which was distinguished from all of them, exceedingly formidable, whose teeth were of iron, and his claws of brass, that devoured, broke in pieces,
- 20 and trampled upon the remains with his feet: Also concerning the ten horns which were on his head, and of the other which grew up when three fell before it, even that horn which had eyes, and a mouth speaking presumptuous things, and whose aspect was more stout
- 21 than his fellows. I was seeing, when this horn made

nominative case to the verb; and the adjective following by an enallage of the number, may be referred to the most High God (Gr. ὑψίστου). See Deut. v. 26, and Josh. xxiv. 19. When the earthly kingdoms shall be destroyed, the heavenly or spiritual kingdom of the saints shall commence; they shall enter upon it on earth, but shall retain it in heaven for ever. See on ver. 22, and 27. It may not be amiss to observe farther, that one MS. drops the word קרשי, and then the next word, to be rendered "the high ones," would assume its place; and another MS. reads the word full קרשין, but the present text seems the best.

19. —*an accurate information.*—Vulg. "diligentius discere:" Gr. ἐξήρουν ακριβως, and at ver 16, it has ακριβειαν: The Chald. word comes from יצר, statuit, constituit, and signifies exact truth. See Ch. iii. 24, and vi. 12.

—*all of them.*—Many MSS. agree with Keri in considering the ו as redundant in the word כלחון; and the י as redundant in the words שפרייה and ברגליה; but no alteration seems necessary in the two last instances, and the Chaldee usage may seem to justify the first. See ver. 7, 8.

20. —*whose aspect was more stout.*—Or, more great and magnificent; for, though it was small at first, it at length exceeded all other powers in pomp and pre-eminence, exalting itself not only above all temporal powers, but above every named god, or every sort of worship. 2 Thess. ii. 4.

21. *I was seeing.*—One MS. omits these words, and the follow-

- 22 war with the Saints, and prevailed over them: Until the Ancient of days came, and gave judgment to the Saints of the most High, when the appointed time arrived, that the Saints should possess the kingdom.
- 23 Thus he replied, The fourth beast shall be a fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be different from all the kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and

ing copulative may support the connexion. In the narrative of the dream, at ver. 7, 8, neither the clause in the last note nor the circumstances mentioned in this verse are taken notice of; which may serve to explain the meaning of the Prophet's *more accurate inquiry*, mentioned at the beginning of ver. 19. The general outline of the character of the little horn was given at ver. 8. "It had eyes like human eyes, and a mouth speaking "presumptuous things;" but here it exalts itself above its fellows, and even makes war with the saints and prevails; till the coming of the Ancient of days, to vindicate their cause, to crush the idolaters, and extirpate the dominion of Antichrist; or until the final judgment, when the saints shall sit as assessors with God, shall be seated on thrones, and reign as kings and priests with God and Christ, and possess the kingdom for ever. Rev. xx. 4 and 6.

23. — *a fourth kingdom.*—This verse seems to confirm the sense which we have given to the seventh verse of this chapter: Nor do I see how the characters of a *fourth* beast and a *fourth* kingdom, distinguished from all the preceding, can possibly apply to the successors of Alexander, the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, who were still only a part of the Macedonian or Grecian kingdom, and constantly at war with each other: Whereas every article of the description agrees with the characters of the Roman empire, which was of a very different nature from all the preceding kingdoms in its origin, its government, and the extent of its dominion. See on ver 7, and Bp. Newton's 13th and 14th Dissertations. The expression at the latter part of this verse, "thresh it down," or trample upon it, alludes to the mode in the East of threshing by the treadings of Oxen; to which we find frequent allusion in the writings of the prophets; and for the various modes of it see Bp. Lowth on Isa. xxviii. 27.

24 thresh it down, and break it in pieces. Also the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall

24. — *the ten horns—are ten kings.*—Or kingdoms, as at ver. 17. There are various enumerations of these ten kingdoms in the division of the Roman empire; none of which are reckoned to commence earlier than the latter end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century. Bp. Newton, in his 14th Dissert. has given several lists, by Machiavel, by the learned Mr. Mede, by Bp. Lloyd, and by Sir Isaac Newton; and at last has added one which he has selected from the rest, and which he has placed in the eighth century. His words are as follow: “The principal states and governments then were, 1. of the Senate of Rome, who revolted from the Greek emperors, and claimed and exerted the privilege of choosing a new western emperor; 2. of the Greeks in Ravenna; 3. of the Lombards in Lombardy; 4. of the Huns in Hungary; 5. of the Alemannes in Germany; 6. of the Franks in France; 7. of the Burgundians in Burgundy; 8. of the Goths in Spain; 9. of the Britons; 10. of the Saxons.” Not that there were constantly ten kingdoms; they were sometimes more, and sometimes fewer; but, as Sir Isaac Newton says, “whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the ten kings from their first number.

As to the other horn that should arise after, or behind them, Gr. *οπισω αυτων*, that is, either unperceived by them, or whose height and dominion should not acquire its summit till long after their establishment, this is generally agreed, by all Protestant interpreters, to be the kingdom of the Pope; which was certainly of a very different nature from either of the former, being first ecclesiastical or spiritual, and afterwards claiming a temporal or civil jurisdiction. The Greek Interpreter adds, that it should be distinguished from the former *κακοις*, “in evils or malignancies;” and the three kings or kingdoms which it should pluck up by the roots, or as Gr. and Vulg. read, *reduce*, are pointed out by the same Prelate in the forementioned Dissertation to be, the Exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards and the State of Rome. In the eighth century the reduction of these states happened, and the epistles and bulls are after that time dated from the years of the commencement of the Pope’s temporal jurisdiction, or advancement to the papal chair;.

arise; and another shall arise after them, which shall be distinguished from the former, and shall reduce three
 25 kings. And he shall speak words against the most High, and shall wear out the Saints of the most High, and shall presume to alter appointed Seasons and the Law,

“and the Pope, by wearing his *triple* crown, hath in a manner pointed out for himself the person here intended.” See the above 14th Dissert. for a farther illustration of this verse and of the text.

25. —*he shall speak words, or discourses, against the most High*—So the Versions, and so at Chap. vi. 4, “on the side of the kingdom” means *against it*. Sym reads, “shall speak words, *ως Θεος*, as God.” See on ver. 8 and 20, and Chap. xi. 36.

—*and shall wear out the Saints*—The verb יבלא, according to its sense in the Targum, means, to make to grow old as a garment does by continual wearing; and whether we refer the word קדישי to holy persons or things, this clause has been too sadly illustrated by the papal massacres and inquisitions, or other innovations. Houbigant would read יבלא *abolebit*, from נכל, and so Syr. נכלא.

—*and shall presume to alter appointed Seasons, or solemnities, and the Law*.—So Cappellus, “the law and its festivals.” The former term I take to refer to the positive, the latter to the moral duties of religion. The precepts and institutes of both sorts have been often over-ruled and changed by the authority of different Pontiffs. The Chaldee word סבר has different senses, as *to think, to hope, to bear up*, &c. See Cast. Lex. I have endeavoured to give it a sense most agreeable to its proper meaning, and at the same time suitable to the bold and presuming attempts of this overbearing power. The Author of the Revelation of St. John Considered, has an ingenious observation on this clause, the substance of which is as follows; “The oral law, or the interpretation of the written law of Moses, is called Mishna, which is derived of the word Shna, to iterate, or do over again; and it is remarkable that the angel should make use of the same word in the clause before us, ‘to do over again the solemnities of the law;’ as if he had it in intention to lead the mind of the reader, in a then future age, to a secondary or oral law, a Christian Mishna, to be fabricated by the eleventh horn, and substituted after the disuse, or wearing out, the holy things of the most High.” See p. 370.

which shall be given into his hand until a time, and
26 times, and the division of a time. But the Judgment

—*which shall be given into his hand.*—Either the saints shall be subject to his power, or, as seems more agreeable to the Versions, his influence shall prevail over the solemnities and the law. Possibly both might be meant to be included in the usurpation.

—*until a time and times, and the division of a time.*—Or, half a time. Syr. and Ar. drop the Vau before *times*, but the sense is not much affected thereby. By the variation of the number, and the exactness used in marking the limits of the term, some particular species of duration, and not a general one, must be here intended. By a *time*, it is agreed by interpreters, is meant a year, by way of excellence, as a period the most distinguished; see on Chap. iv. 16, by the plural, or rather the dual *times*, must also be meant “two years;” and thus the whole term will be three years and a half; and both Josephus and Chrysostom, as Grotius has observed, confirm this acceptation. But on this we shall treat more fully at Chap. xii. 7, where the like expression again occurs. The point I would now ascertain is, whether this term is to be understood literally, or in the prophetic sense of *years*, according to Ezek. iv. 6, “each day for a year have I appointed thee.” See also Isa. xxxiv. 8.

Now the time that Antiochus plundered the temple, and prohibited the daily sacrifice, is confined by Josephus to three years and a half: See De Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 1, and it seems not improbable that to this term the Prophet might have an eye, but not to this only or chiefly: Indeed, as Mr. Lowth has observed, this term is thought to have been typical of the longer prophetic period. And as the horn is a kingdom, or a succession of kings to which the above signal characters belong; and as the same language is adopted in the book of the Revelations, Chap. xi. 2, in which “the Gentiles shall tread under foot the court of the temple forty and two months,” equal to three years and a half; and again, “power was given to the beast, which opened his mouth in blasphemies,” for the same term, Chap. xiii. 5, and at Chap. xii. 4, “the woman, or the church, was to be nourished in the wilderness for a time, and times, and half a time,” which at ver. 6 is said to be “a thousand two hundred and threescore days,” or forty and two months, allotting to each month thirty days; and as the prophecies of Daniel commenced within 560 years before Christ; from these and other like circumstances, apparent in these disquisitions, I

- shall sit, when his dominion shall be taken away, to be
 27 wasted and destroyed unto the end. Yet the kingdom
 and the dominion, and the wide extent of Empire
 under the whole heaven shall be given to a people the
 Saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an ever-
-

think we may justly deduce the following positions : That the period of the dominion of the little horn is the same which St. John alludes to in the Apocalypse ; that this dominion therefore did not commence till after the times of the Gospel ; that a space of three years and a half is too short for a dominion so long predicted, and so solemnly announced in times or years, months, and days, by these highly favoured prophets ; that therefore we must understand the 1260 days to be so many years ; and that there is no known power to which this term can be so properly applied as to that of Antichrist, who should arise under the times of the latter dispensation within the Roman empire ; and would exalt himself as God, and usurp some of the characters and worship of the most High. These conclusions will perhaps be readily allowed, whatever this power of Antichrist may be, or from what period soever we may fix the commencement of his kingdom. Though these points also have been hinted already, or might be collected from the preceding observations, yet I shall no farther insist on them at present, as the subject will be resumed in the latter part of this book.

26. *But the Judgment shall sit.*—The reference seems, ultimately at least, to the future and final judgment ; “ The destruction of the impious shall be eternal.” Cappellus in loc. But before this shall all the earthly kingdoms be destroyed, Ezekiel’s prophecy in Chap. xxxviii. and xxxix. against Gog in the land of Magog be fulfilled, the kingdom of Christ be restored, and the Church’s ascendancy over all the earth be established ; and, as it follows in the next verse, the saints of the most High shall receive a very extensive dominion, which shall commence here on earth, and be continued for ever and ever. See ver. 18, and Rev. v. 10.

27. —*a people the Saints.*—The latter word does not appear to be in statu constructo with the former, or the genitive case after it. The Saints were the people or subjects of this wide-extended empire, of which the Jewish Theocracy might have been a sort of emblem. The Jews are called God’s saints in Ps. cxlviii. 14, and cxlix. 5.

lasting kingdom, and all the potentates shall be subject and obedient to it.

- 28 Hitherto is the end of the matter. As to me Daniel, my thoughts much disturbed me, and the brightness of my countenance was changed upon me, yet I kept the matter in my heart.

See Heb. xii. 28. Calmet refers this passage to Jesus Christ and his Church, and not to the Maccabees; although in general a favourer of the narrow and confined interpretation of these prophecies.

28 —*my thoughts much disturbed me.*—So Chap. viii. 27. Communications from the Deity have generally been attended with a like effect on mankind: Moses hid his face, because he was afraid to look upon God; Exod. iii. 6, and Ezekiel fell on his face when he saw the glory of Jehovah, and heard the divine voice speaking unto him; Chap. i. 26. The Disciples also fell on their faces and were sore afraid, when they heard the voice at our Lord's transfiguration. Mat. xvii. 6.

—*yet I kept the matter in my heart.*—"Rem vero diligenter memoriæ mandavi." Dathius. He laid it up in his mind, that he might frequently reflect upon it, and faithfully record it. The former part of this verse Theodoret interprets thus; "The present world shall end in this kingdom of Christ." And the words may be rendered in this manner; "Thus far is the final period of things," taking the last word in a collective sense, so that the reference might be to the consummation of all things.

I have already observed in the Prelim. Diss. that I consider this vision as a sort of summary of those that follow; and this may account for its being written in a different language, as well as furnish a good sense for the last clause of ver. 1. A general or compendious view of these things might be all that either in prudence or propriety was then expedient to be given to the nations, for their own benefit, or that of the dispersed Israelites that resided among them; but a more exact and particular prospect might be held out for those highly favoured people, who were to constitute the restored church of God, and from whom was to descend the promised Messiah, who was to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to spread salvation unto the ends of the earth.

CHAPTER VIII.

- 1 IN the third year of the reign of Belshazzar the king,
a Vision appeared unto me Daniel, after that which
2 appeared unto me in the beginning. And I saw in a
-

THIS Chapter contains the Vision of the Ram and the He-goat ; or an account of the Persian and Grecian monarchies ; the explanation of the Vision by the Angel Gabriel ; the Persecutions of the Jews in the Profanation of their Temple and removal of the daily Sacrifice, and the continuance of the troubles for 2300 days, till the Sanctuary should be cleansed. It is thought also to have a farther reference to the persecutions and profanations of Antichrist. The Chaldee language is continued no farther, but the Hebrew is resumed, and used to the end of the book.

1. —*in the beginning.*—The Prophet here alludes to the vision in the former chapter, which happened in the first year of Belshazzar's reign, as this did in the third. Mr. Lowth thinks this word may be rendered, "before," and refers to Chap. ix. 21 for the like usage.

2. *And I saw in a Vision.*—The four first words of this verse are omitted by Th. but Theodoret has them, and MS. Pachom. Th. likewise omits the words *και ειδον εν οραματι* after *Αιδαμ*, which are found in that MS. In this same MS. also are several letters erased after the word Oubal, perhaps *ουλα*, corresponding with the Heb. *אולאי*; and the like erasements appear after *ουβαλ* in the next verse, and at ver. 6 and 16. Syr. reads Abul-Oulai, the gate Ulai of the city. Aq. has Ubal-Ulai, and Sym. paludem Ulai.

According to the Greek of Th. it is directly asserted that the Prophet was at Susa and upon the Oubal ; or, upon the gate of that city. But perhaps the greatest difficulty is to shew how he came there. Some suspect he was sent on an embassy, or engaged in some occasional office or employment, being still in the service of the king of Babylon, as appears from ver. 27. Dr. Blayney thinks Elam was a

Vision (and it happened that in my seeing I was in Shushan the Capital, which is in the province of Elam), and when I saw in the vision, I was near the river Ulai.

3 Then I lifted up my eyes and looked, and behold

separate province from Persia, and a part of the Babylonish empire; and that Daniel presided over it, and had Shushan for the seat of his government. See on Jer. xlix. 34. But in the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela Susiana is reckoned the same province with Elam: And it seems very probable that Elam in its larger sense comprehended the whole country on either side the Eulæus, the one part of which was called Elymais, the other Susiana. Shushan, the metropolis, according to Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. vi. was placed on this river, or rather surrounded by it, and seems to have been the capital of both parts; and though it might have been subject to Babylon when Daniel saw this vision, having been subdued by Nebuchadnezzar, might afterwards have revolted from it, and joined with the Medes and Persians in the siege of that city. Thus however we may account for Daniel's actual presence at Shushan, by supposing it a Babylonian province, if the Greek Interpreter be right in placing him *really* there in this third year of Belshazzar.

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Vision (and it happened that in my seeing I was in Shushan the Capital, which is in the province of Elam), and when I saw in the vision, I was near the river Ulai.

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- 6 his eyes. And he came to the ram that had horns,
 which I saw standing before the river, and ran at him
 7 in the heat of his strength. And I saw him coming
 close up to the ram, when he rushed furiously upon
 him, and smote the ram, and broke both his horns;
 neither was there any strength in the ram to stand
 before him, but he threw him down upon the ground,
 and trampled on him, nor could any deliver the ram

is the first king; or rather, as Sir Isaac Newton suggests, Obs. c. ix. p. 116, the first kingdom, continued through the life of Alexander, that of his brother Aridæus, and his two sons Alexander and Hercules. Yet Abp. Secker seems of opinion, that King is meant here in the same sense as at Chap. xi. 3, 4, where the pronoun *his* refers it to Alexander only.

6. —*he came to the ram that had horns.*—Heb. “the lord or possessor of horns.” The suddenness and rapidity of Alexander’s invasion of the Persians is pointed at in a most striking manner in this verse, and part of the next. Bp. Newton thinks we can scarcely read these words without having some image of Darius’s army standing and guarding the river Granicus, and of Alexander on the other side with his forces plunging in, swimming across the stream, and rushing on the enemy with all imaginable fire and fury. Vol. ii. p. 31.

7.—*and broke both his horns*—Subdued the Medo-Persian empire, both parts of which were united in Cyrus. The expression at this verse וַיִּתְּלֶם very strongly indicates the precipitancy and vindictive temerity of Alexander, and the success that attended him; “he rushed furiously” upon him, like a person affected with bile or choler, after all the fences and resistances in his way to him were overpowered and destroyed. He had also several close engagements with the king of Persia, beside that at the Granicus; as at the Straits of Issus in Cilicia, and in the plains of Arbela in Assyria, where he entirely subdued the whole united strength of Persia, and destroyed the castle at Susa by fire. See Diodorus Sic. lib. xvii. and Curtius, lib. v. cap. 7, 8. And at length Darius the Persian Monarch was himself seized, imprisoned, and slain; and thus the kings of Grecia, or the He-goat, threw down the Ram, or the powers of Persia, upon the ground, and trampled on them.

8 from his power. Then the he-goat increased to a very great degree, and as he grew strong, the great horn was broken, and there arose four conspicuous ones
9 instead of it towards the four winds of heaven. And

8. —*the great horn was broken.*—Intimating a sudden and total demolition. Alexander, as well as several of his nearest relations, died suddenly; he was broken in pieces like an earthen vessel, and this proud Son of Ammon, in the midst of his turgid boastings, was taken off at once, probably of a fever, in Babylon.

—*there arose four conspicuous ones instead of it.*—A great number of MSS. and some Edit. omit the Jod in תַּעֲלִינָה, “there arose.” MS. Pachom. has τεσσαρα κερατα, and so Vulg. Syr. follows the present text. Th. reads ετερα κερατα τεσσαρα, “four other horns;” perhaps for חזוֹת he found אֲחֵרֹת. “Michaelis saith, Quaternarius quidem numerus, si historia regni Græcorum spectatur, difficultibus suis non caret. See Phocius’s Abstract of Arrian’s ten books about the division of Alexander’s Empire, and Raderus’s Tables in Rook’s translation of Arrian. Appian in his preface saith, that Alexander’s kingdom exceeded all the former, but for the shortness of its duration was a bright lightning, and when it was dissolved into many satrapies ἐπι πλειστον ἐξέλαμπε τα μερη, ‘the portions long retained the original splendour.’ Then, after describing the wealth and power of the Egyptian kings, he adds, ‘Many things appeared in the other satrapies not inferior to these.’ Secker. He thinks also that the word חזוֹת “conspicuous” should be understood at Chap. vii. and Chap. xi.

It is certain from ver. 22, that the four horns of the he-goat are four kingdoms, which should arise out of the Grecian empire, after the first horn or kingdom was broken and demolished. Now Grotius will have these to be four Commanders, that after the death of Alexander managed the affairs of the empire; Perdicas, who had the command of the Macedonian cavalry, Seleucus of the external or foreign; Meleager and Ptolemy, the former of whom presided over the royal guards, the latter over the foot forces. But Grotius certainly confines the signification of the word *horns* to very narrow limits; “Cornua ubique hic sunt reges,” ver. 7. And yet at ver. 22, the angel interprets them of *kingdoms*. And we must look therefore after four kingdoms for the right explanation of this place. Jerom names the four monarchs as follow, Ptolemy, Philip Aridæus, Seleucus, and Antigonus; some put Antipater and his son Cassande

from one of these came out a single horn, a small one,

for Philip. And however uncertain and various might be the divisions of this kingdom, and although we find that other lesser sovereignties were set up for a time, and that Demetrius reigned about six years, and wore a crown as well as his father Antigonus, yet after the defeat of Antigonus and Demetrius, and the death of the former at the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, the four princes or sovereigns by a mutual league were Ptolemy, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus; the former of whom, according to Sir Isaac Newton, Obs. c. iv. p. 30, and most interpreters, reigned over Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cælosyria and Palestine; Cassander over Macedon, Greece, and Epirus; Lysimachus over Thrace and Bithynia; and Seleucus over Babylon, Syria, and the rest of the empire. And these four horns were also the four heads of the Leopard, Chap. vii. 6, and their government reached towards the four winds of heaven; to Egypt on the south, Thrace and the lesser Asia on the north, Babylonia and Syria on the east, and Greece on the west. This division, or these conspicuous horns, continued for several years, having been first established about eleven years after the commencement of the æra of the Seleucidæ, which was dated from the time that Seleucus retook Babylon from Antigonus, or about the year 312 before the vulgar Christian æra; which æra of contracts, as it was also called, was made use of by Jews, and persons of all persuasions throughout the East and continued till upwards of a thousand years after Christ. See Dr. Prideaux's Con. p. i. b. 8. Diod. Sic. l. xx. Polyb. l. v. p. 410.

9. —*came out a single horn, a small one.*—Two or three MSS. read יצאה to agree with the noun קרן, which is most commonly feminine, and followed by the feminine adjective אחת in this place. From the kingdom of Syria or the Seleucidæ came Antiochus, who is usually reckoned “the single horn, the small one,” מצעירה; but Th. explains the word by ισχυρον, “the strong one,” and Ar. follows him. Perhaps they found in their copies עצימה. The MSS. vary a little, and one especially places the מ at some small distance before the next letter. But the word צעיר is sometimes referred to princes and heroes, as appears from a note of Dr. Hammond's on Matt. ii. 6. Thus at Jer. xlviii. 4, Rabbi Tanchum renders צעיריה, “his *princes and governors*,” and so the Chald. Paraph. And Ebn Jannahium, a learned grammarian, assigns contrary significations to this word, and cites Zech. xiii. 7, where הצעירים signifies *nobles and princes*; and the Syr. translates *superiors*, and the Arab. *pastors or rulers*. If we

which grew exceeding great towards the south, and
 10 towards the east, and towards the glorious land: Also
 it grew up even to the host of heaven, and when it had

retain the present sense, we must apply the epithet to Antiochus in the earlier part of his life, as he was a younger brother, a contemptible person, see Chap. xi. and a sort of captive at Rome; and although he was termed Epiphanes, or the Illustrious, afterwards, yet by Polybius he is called Epimanes, or the mad man. He extended his dominion toward the south, where he attacked Ptolemy Philometer, king of Egypt, and took a part of his kingdom; and toward the east, where he conquered Armenia, and penetrated to Persia; וְאֶל צָבִי, “and to the pleasant land,” or the land of Judea, where was the temple or house of God, and where the Messiah was to appear, called elsewhere “the glory of all lands.” Ezek. xx. 6 and 15. See also Ps. xlviii. 2, and cvi. 24.

“Non valde discrepat צָבִי א צָפוֹן. Conf. ver. 4. Omittit Syr. f. ut alibi quia non intellexit. και προς την δυναμιν Th. fortitudinem; alibi sic reddit צָבִי.—טַט, Chrys. Compl. Arab. male.—Judea (as Babylon צָבִי of the kingdoms, Isa. xiii. 19.) et אֶרֶץ צָבִי. Dan. xi. 41, quo modo f. hic legendum. Sed f. etiam צָבִי pro אֶרֶץ צָבִי, ut supra חֲזוֹת pro חֲזוֹת, et C. ix. 23, חֲזוֹת pro חֲזוֹת, and though Judea is meant in the next verse, yet such repetition is not uncommon in Scripture. Michaelis also observes that his magnifying himself against the host of heaven, or people of God as such, is more than conquering Judea.” Secker.

10. *Also it grew up even to the host of heaven.*—Th. *εμεγαλυνθη*. In marg. MS. Pachom. legitur *ὁ Αντι*. Yet it may be proper to observe, that it is still a horn of the same he-goat, or a monarch of the Grecian kingdom. See 1 Mac. i. 10. This clause may be understood as generally pointing out the aspiring nature of this usurping power, that would swell to such a pitch as to exceed all imaginable authority, so as to reach the stars, according to Obad. iv. or to ascend into heaven, above the stars, and to exalt his throne like the king of Babylon, in Isa. xiv. 13. And in the 2 Mac. ix. 10, Antiochus is described as the man that thought he could reach to the stars of heaven.

The language that follows in this verse is, by an usual and familiar metaphor in Scripture, applicable to the Jews, or the then true Church

thrown down to the ground some of the host and of the
11 stars, it trampled upon them. Moreover against the

of God. Isa. xxiv. 21, "the host of the high ones that are on high," is probably explained by Vitranga of the Jewish rulers and people. God's people have their city in heaven, and shine, *οι φωστῆρες*, in the world. See Chap. xii. 3, and Rev. i. 20, where the angels or governors of the churches are called stars. The priests and levites, like the angels, were also continually waiting on the service of the King of Heaven in the temple, as of old, in the tabernacle; see Numb. viii. 24, and these were that part of the host, or the holy people, or people of the holy God, as at ver. 24, that were thrown down and trampled on. Spencer, in his treatise *de Leg. Heb. l. i. c. 4*, p. 202, takes notice that the Scripture often borrows expressions from military affairs, to accommodate itself to the use of the tabernacle; and hence is the frequent use of the term צבא "host." So the people of God are יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת; the Levites are said to enter לְצִבְאָה "ad exercitum," or according to LXX. *λειτουργεῖν*; and especially in this and the next verse, "the host of heaven, and prince of the host," he thinks must refer to the body of the priests, who exercised the offices of their warfare under the standards of the Deity. Now Antiochus overthrew some of the most celebrated luminaries amongst the leaders of the Jewish people, and reduced them to the lowest disgrace.

11. —*against the Prince of the host was it magnified.*—The language is similar to that at the beginning of the last verse, and may possibly mean, that in his own opinion he grew as great as the prince of the host; or, according to 2 Mac. ix. 8—12, he thought himself equal to a god. See Jer. xlviii. 26. But perhaps the expression, in conformity to the metaphor commenced at the latter part of ver. 10, may rather be referred to the high priest of the Jews, whom Antiochus deposed, and substituted the worthless Jason in the place of the good Onias; if the term שַׂר צְבָא does not rather mean, as also שַׂר שָׂרִים at ver. 25, either God himself, according to Jerom and Theodoret, or else Christ, who is called in the Revelations "king of kings, and lord of lords," and is the high priest over the house of God, or the sanctuary. Now God or Christ may be opposed by ill usage of their people, or opposing the designs of Providence. And in this and the next verse the vision seems to look beyond the type to the usurpations of Antichrist.

Prince of the host was it magnified, and from him was taken away the daily sacrifice, and the place of his
12 sanctuary profaned. And a host was set up against

—*from him was taken away.*—Heb. ממנו. Gr. reads δὲ αὐτον, *by him*, and gives a quite different turn to the whole of this verse, and part of the next. I follow Vulg. and Syr. A great number of MSS. concur with the Masora in reading הוֹרֵם in the passive, and I have followed them in the translation. By the daily sacrifice, or continual burnt offering, Exod. xxix. 42, may be meant the whole customary worship. Antiochus erected in the temple a statue to Jupiter Olympius, deservedly esteemed the abomination of desolation; and thus magnified himself against God, to whom the sacrifice and sanctuary were appropriated. The Gr. Interpreter reads at the beginning of this verse, εως ου δ αρχιστρατηγος ρυσσεται την αιχμαλωσιαν, and MS. Pachom. has the following words before these, και εως αρχοντος της δυναμεως ηδρυνθη. “And he should be hardened, or ferocious, against the prince of the host, until the chief ruler, captain of the host, should deliver the captivity.” It seems evident that both had an eye to one event of the prediction, the deliverance by Christ; and the latter part of the verse has a sense conformable with the beginning; but I know not how the present Heb. Text could be made to agree with the Greek of either copy.

—*the place of his sanctuary profaned.*—One MS. has והושלך; two MSS. מכון מקום. The passage may admit of this rendering, “And the foundation of his sanctuary was thrown down;” or “the place—was cast of.”

12. *And a host was set up, &c.*—One MS. reads וצבאן, “And his host,” i. e. of Antiochus. The host probably alludes to the garrison of Antiochus, which he placed in the citadel that he had built near the temple, in order to secure his own Idol-worship, and prevent the worship of the true God. 1 Mac. i. 33—44. Archbishop Secker intimates, that it might be translated, “And the host was placed, on account of the daily sacrifice, in a state of sin:” So Exod. v. 19, “they saw they were ברע in a bad state;” and thus תנתן בפשע here will answer to לתת מרמס at verse 13. See 2 Mac. iv. 14. Grotius renders בפשע “per scelus,” by a daring act of villainy; and I think this the better sense. See on Chap. ix. 24. That צבא masc. should be joined with תנתן fem. H. Michaelis thinks less strange, as the plur. is צבאות.

the daily sacrifice by a bold transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, yet it wrought and
 13 prospered. Then I heard one Saint speaking, and

—*it cast down the truth.*—Or the law of God. Ps. cxix. 142, for he burnt the books of the law, as appears from 1 Mac. i. 5, 6, and yet while he was employed in his wickedness, Antiochus for a time had prosperous success.

I have hitherto explained the little horn as relating to Antiochus, agreeably to the sense of most interpreters, at least of the ancient ones: but there is a modern opinion, and well supported, especially by the Greek copies, that refers it rather to the Roman state, which arose in the north-west part of those nations which composed the body of the Goat, and was very small in the beginning, but became very great afterwards; and this by a power not borrowed from the goat, or not his own power. This little horn of the third kingdom greatly oppressed the saints, or the people of God; and in this respect certainly the three last verses were eminently fulfilled by the Romans. In the following parts of the chapter I shall occasionally have an eye to this sense, which I am convinced is here in some measure intended, and must refer the reader for a more full illustration to the authors that will be mentioned as supporting it.

13. —*one Saint speaking, and another Saint said unto that excellent one that was speaking.*—Saint means angel, and is the same word that is given to the Eir or watcher at Chap. iv. 13. “Speaking;” that is perhaps, explaining in words some of the things which Daniel had last related. Mr. Löwth intimates that the participle מדבר used here twice with respect to this same person, has probably a reference to the *Λογος*, or “Word of God;” and the participle in the second place has the emphatic ה prefixed. “To the excellent one.” Heb. לפלמוני. The word is divided in Ruth iv. 1, where the two words apply to a person; as in 1 Sam. xxi. 3, and in 2 Kings vi. 8, they do to a place unnamed, unless, as Buxtorf and Kimchi think, the word *place* adjoining should in the last instance confine them to a person. The Gr. has *φελμουνι*, retaining the original, and so LXX. and Aquila. Vulg. nescio cui. Syr. Ar. and Sym. cuidam. The word seems to denote some extraordinary personage, probably the same as issued his mandate to Gabriel at verse 16; see also Chap. xii. 8. According to its original meaning and the marginal rendering it is, “the numberer

another Saint said unto that excellent one that was speaking, How long will be the Term of the vision of the daily sacrifice, and the transgression that maketh desolate, exposing both the sanctuary and the host to
 14 be trampled on? And he answered him, until two thousand and three hundred days, when the sanctuary shall be cleansed.

of secrets," or "the wonderful numberer;" from פלא "wonderful," a word attributed to the Messiah, Isa. ix. 6, and מונה, "to number." Junius and Tremellius apply it to the Son of God, the eternal Wisdom, and Word of the Father, qui occulta in numerato habet; See Glass. Phil. p. 644, 4to. and the nature of the request seems to justify this interpretation.

—*How long will be the Term of the vision.* &c.—Literally, to how long, or how distant a period, will be the vision. Mr. Lowth thinks, that agreeably to the Gr. Ar. and Vulg. Versions we may render thus, "For how long a time shall the vision last, the daily sacrifice be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue?" But although the Versions may seem to favour this rendering, yet there are no words in the Heb. for "taken away" and "continue." I rather think the inquiry is only into the duration of the vision; and that the other words are added by way of explaining what the vision is, namely, "of the daily sacrifice, and of the transgression of desolation (see on verse 11,) and of the sanctuary and host," or its attendant ministers, "being suppressed and trampled on:" This at least appears to be the primary intention of the question. I must beg leave to add, that the Versions join the word נזהר to the preceding clause, to give the transgression, that maketh desolate; yet I suspect the letters were originally נזהר, and joined to the foregoing word thus, שוממיה, "and the transgression of desolation, and the sanctuary," &c., as I have just explained it.

14. *And he answered him.*—Heb. אָלִי answered me, i. e. Daniel; but the Versions read him, and probably found אָלִי, referring the answer to the angel that asked the question; I think this the best sense, and have therefore followed it.

—*until two thousand and three hundred days.*—Heb. until the evening (and) morning 2300. I insert the word *and* because the Vau is found at verse 26, where the expression is repeated, which Mr. Dimock has also observed; nor do I know any place where it occurs

15 Now it happened that when I Daniel had seen the

without the intermediate γ , and the Versions here have the copulative. Sym. has 2400 days; and so the Greek Interpreter; but this I suspect is a mistake of *τετρακοσια* for *τριακοσια*, which last word we find in MS. A. in the London Polyglott, and also in MS. Pachom. and Copt. The *νυχθημερον* of the Greeks is probably the same expression with this before us, and denotes a natural day, or space of 24 hours; see Gen. i. and Matt. xii. 40, and I am inclined to think this *vespera-mane* should induce us to understand these days in the first instance literally, rather than of months and years.

But the great difficulty is to reconcile this term of 2300 days with the period to which it has been usually referred, under the tyranny of Antiochus. The account appears to be very plausible, which refers it to a portion of time that passed between some part of the 145th and 148th years of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ. Josephus allows only three years, or, at most, three years and a half, for the desolation of the temple, and the taking away of the daily sacrifice. See Proem. de Bell. Jud. Sect. 7. and Ant. xii. 5 and 11, and he is thought to refer to that chief abrogation of the sacred rites which is begun, 1 Mac. i. 31, and soon after which followed the erection of the statue and its worship, in the Temple, ver. 54—57. And in order to reconcile this to the time here mentioned, it is presumed that the Nychthemeron must be considered in its divided state, and that the 2300 must refer to the sacrifices, to the evening and morning sacrifice of the Jews, for which 1150 days only would be required; which number divided by 365 will give three years and 55 day. For the three years see 1 Mac. i. 54, and iv. 52, and for ten days, see Chap. i. verse 59, so that from the 15th day of the month Cisleu, in the 145th year, when the abomination was set up on the altar, and to which on the 25th they did sacrifice, were just three years and ten days, till the 25th of Cisleu, in the 148th year, when Judas had cleansed the sanctuary, and directed the sacrifice to be offered according to the law of God, or, as the Hebrew is, “had *justified*,” or restored it to its proper state and use. Moreover, for the remaining 45 days a space must be allowed after the publication of the order for the first profanation and the execution of it, while the altar was building under the direction of Apollonius, and the daily sacrifice disused: Mr. Mede, by extending this previous time, would carry it back as far as to the six years and upwards, or 2300 full days, that is, a little before Antiochus first went up to Jerusalem, 1 Mac. i. 20. See his Works, B. iii. p. 659.

vision, and had sought information, behold there stood

Cappellus reckons the time to commence with the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus, An. U. C. 586. Novemb. 17, Cisleu 15, and to terminate on the day on which Judas Maccabæus conquered and slew Nicanor, An. U. C. 593, Adar or Dystr. 13, Mart. 6, which comprehends, as he says, a space of 2300 days precisely. But Archbishop Secker suggests, that instead of אֵלֶּפֶּיִם it might have been אֵלֶּם, before final letters were used, and the remaining יִ might have been a part of יָמִים, which might have been put over by way of interpretation of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר, and have crept into the text, or possibly have belonged to the text, and shortened. Now 1300, reading אֵלֶּף, will be between the two numbers of Daniel, Chap. xii. viz. 1290 and 1335. And this at 360 days will be three years, seven months, and ten days, not very far distant from the three years and a half of Josephus. Michaelis agrees with Gejerus, that perhaps we cannot count these days, nor those in Dan. xii. exactly, but in the time of Antiochus they could, when it was most needful. Th. Vulg. and Ar. have the word "days," which tends to strengthen this ingenious conjecture.

It must however be remembered, that many interpreters, and with great reason, understand these days in the same sense in which days are generally understood by this prophet, for *years*; and thus refer the prophecy to Antichrist, of whom Antiochus was a type. This will carry us on to a still distant time in the Church of God, to the completion of that opposition to the Church of Christ, which has been wished for long since, when the sanctuary will be perfectly cleansed, and to which the 1290 and 1335 years of the 12th Chap. must have a reference. Sir Isaac Newton, Obs. ch. 9, not only reckons the days to be years, but will have the horn to be Rome, and does not refer it at all to Antiochus; and in this he is followed in a great measure by Bp. Newton, who makes the years commence from the time of Alexander's invading Asia, or 334 before Christ, and thus to end with near the sixth millennium of the world: Diss. xv.—To these observations it may be added, that a day is often used both in sacred and profane writings for an indeterminate portion of time. The day of temptation in the wilderness was forty years, Heb. iii. 8, 9. The day of the Lord is the time of judgment: And the apostle St. Paul, speaking of man's judgment, calls it *ανθρωπινη ημερα*, "the day of man," in opposition, as it should seem, to "the day of the Lord." 1 Cor. iv. 3. So, *Opinionum commenta delet dies*. And it has been observed, that a

- 16 before me like the appearance of a man. And I heard
 a human voice over the Ulai, which called aloud and
 17 said, Gabriel, explain to this man the vision. Then
 he came near to me as I stood, and when he came, I
 fell down affrighted on my face; but he said unto me,
 Understand, son of man, for to the time of the end will
 18 be the vision. Moreover as he was talking with me, I
 sunk flat into a swoon upon the ground, when he
 19 touched me and set me upright. Then he said, behold
 I will explain to thee, what shall be in the latter end

good rule to judge what portion of time may be designed by such indeterminate expressions, is to consider what is necessary or proportional to the season spoken of.

17. —*son of man.*—We have the like expression Ezek. ii. 1, and Chap. iii. 1, 3, 4, either to remind him of human frailty, or to denote a person especially distinguished. See Ps. viii. 4.

—*for to the time of the end will be the vision.*—The most usual sense of this clause is, by an Hendiadys, to understand “the time of the end” for a definite time, when the vision will be accomplished. But the Greek Interpreter has *eis καιρον περας*, and the Arab. follows him. Possibly the expression is of like import with “the fulness of time,” Gal. iv. 4, or with “the last days,” Heb. i. 1, or “the end of times,” Heb. ix. 26, and may have a reference to the times of the gospel. There is an expression somewhat similar to this, Ezek. xxxv. 5, where LXX render by *ἐν ἑσχατων*. Purver translates, “the end of the vision will be at the time,” and notes, that Pagninus and Munster do the same.

19. —*what shall be in the latter end of the indignation.*—Perhaps, at its greatest extremity, in the times of Antiochus; see ch. xi. 30. Mr. Lowth would rather read *to the latter end* (which Syr. seems to favour), and thus interpret it of the whole series of God’s judgments upon his people, to the end of them. MS. Pachom. after the words *ἐν ἑσχατων της οργης* adds, *τοις υιοις του λαου σου*. The Prophet had doubtless a regard to the captivity in the first place; and therefore beginning from this, the angel hints at a sort of epitome of the evils which would accrue to the posterity of God’s chosen people, till their iniquity was taken away, and their sin purged, when the indignation would be overpast. Isai. xxvi. 20.

of the indignation, for at the time appointed there shall be an end.

- 20 The Ram which thou sawest with horns is the kings
 21 of Media and Persia. And the fierce goat is the king
 of Grecia, whereof the great horn, which was between
 22 his eyes, is the first king. But this was broken, and
 there arose four in its stead, so four kingdoms shall be
 erected out of the nation, yet not with his strength.
 23 And in the latter end of their kingdom, when iniquities

21. —*the king of Grecia.*—Rather, “the kingdom,” and so at ver.

20. Heb. יָן from Javan the son of Japheth; Gen. x. 2. The whole states of Greece were sometimes called Iacones, and the sea which washes their borders is the Ionian Sea. Yet there seems to have been a distinction made by the Hebrews between the Peloponnesian and the Ionian Greece; but Macedonia certainly belonged to the latter; and Alexander might with the greatest propriety be styled the first king of Ion, as he was the first and chief who subdued the Medo-Persic, and established the Grecian empire.

22. —*four kingdoms shall be erected out of the nation, yet not with his strength.*—“But not of his blood.” Mr. Godwin; See Gen. xlix.

3. “The verb עָמְדָה is what the Jews call *ανδρογυνος*, of which sort Buxtorf hath very few.” Secker. But one MS. reads רָעָמְדָה, which is probably right. The Versions read, “out of *his* nation,” the Grecian; see ver. 8, but Copt. has, *de throno ejus*. “Yet not with his strength:” the Greek has *αυτων*, but MS. A. in Lond. Polyg. and MS. Pachom. *αυτου*. Arab. has “of unequal strength;” far inferior, when divided, was each power to that of the parent state, or the dominion of Alexander the Great.

23. *And in the latter end of their kingdom.*—When their power was diminishing, and the Roman empire beginning to be established; for Æmilius the consul having subjugated Perseus king of Macedonia, all Greece became subject to the Roman yoke about 166 years before Christ; in which year Antiochus set up the abomination of desolation, within less than three months after this encroachment of the fourth kingdom. See Mr. Mede, p. 654. Now the reduction of Greece, the original and principal seat of the third kingdom, might justify the expression, “in the latter time, or end, of their kingdom;” but it is

shall be full, there shall arise a king of an obdurate countenance, and penetrating in mysterious craft :

observable also, that the four horns or kingdoms had long been reduced to two principal ones, Syria and Egypt. Antiochus had attempted to gain the latter, and had marched towards Alexandria to besiege that city, the conquest of which would have made him absolute master of the whole kingdom ; but in order to prevent his success, Ptolemy Euergetes and his sister Cleopatra had sent ambassadors to the Romans to beg their relief ; and when Popilius was deputed by the senate to go into Egypt, he proposed terms to Antiochus, which he was obliged to accept, and obey the commands of the senate. Thus both Syria and Egypt became in some sort vassals to Rome. See Prid. Con. p. ii. b. 3. Archb. Secker observes, that the kingdom of Syria did not last so long after Antiochus as before him : But Mr. Mede has alleged testimonies from the Roman historians themselves, from L. Florus and Vell. Paterculus, to prove that the Roman empire took its rise about the time of Antiochus. Compare his Works, B. iv. p. 797, with 1 Mac. .ch. viii.

—*when iniquities shall be full.*—Gr. *πληρουμένων*. Comp. Mat. xxiii. 32. But seven MSS. read *הַפּוֹשְׁעִים*, “the transgressors,” and so Eng. Transl. the sense is much the same. Here is the reason why God suffered these judgments to fall on his people, the iniquity and apostasy of the Jews had risen to a very great height ; and the like reasons may be presumed to be usually productive of the like consequences. For an account of the evils inflicted by Antiochus, see 1 Mac. i, Joseph. Ant. 12, 6, and Prid. ubi supra. Some will have these rebellions of the Jews to be meant by the transgression of desolation or astonishment.

—*a king of an obdurate countenance.*—This is a very just character of Antiochus, according to Diodorus, Polybius, lib. v, Livy, lib. iv, and all the historians. And such a character may be presumed to belong to Antichrist, who would be “acquainted with all the depths of Satan.” Rev. ii. 24. I must confess that this part of the interpretation appears to me to agree better with Antiochus than with the Romans ; when interpreted of the latter it is understood to mean a warlike and politic state, if it be not rather applicable to the Roman pontificate.

—*penetrating in mysterious craft.*—“Rex omnis doli peritus.”

- 24 And his power shall be strengthened, but not with his own strength; yet he shall make astonishing havoc, and shall be successful; wherefore he shall proceed,

Michaelis. And he would derive the word חזיק from the Arab. *حيد* declinavit, deflexit. I rather think it has some reference also to the ænigmatical or mysterious sense from חזק, whence Chald. אֲחִידִין “ænigmas” at Chap. v. 12. I have rendered here “mysterious craft,” to include both senses.

24. *And his power shall be strengthened, but not with his own strength.*—The latter clause וְלֹא בִכְחוֹ is not in the text of Theodotion, of the Rom. Ed. or in Iren. but it is in MS. Pachom. and Alex. in the Arab. Copt. and other Versions.

As the character in the last verse seemed to agree best with Antiochus, this verse, on the other hand, is thought to suit best with the Romans; which, though a horn or kingdom of the he-goat, did not derive its chief support from thence, but from Italy. The above Author of the Revelation of St. John Considered says, “the dragon gave him his power, his seat, and great authority.” Rev. xiii. 2. And it is evident from Chap. xvii. 13, that the kings of the earth were to give their power and strength unto the beast. But still, if we consider the passage with respect to the Jewish nation, Antiochus was certainly much favoured in his designs by a factious party of the Jews themselves, by the treachery of the Jewish people, according to Josephus, and, according to Appian, the perfidy of others. Eumenes king of Pergamus and his brother Attalus, being jealous of the Romans, desired to make the king of Syria their friend, and supported Antiochus in his kingdom. The divine displeasure also against the Jews operated to the furtherance of his designs, who was herein an agent of the vindictive justice of God.

—*wherefore he shall proceed.*—This and the foregoing verb are omitted in Copt. They are joined together at ver. 12, but in an inverted order. Syr. connects this verb with the following clause, and I think very properly. עַם קִדְשִׁים at the end of the verse may be rendered “the people of the holy God,” the noun plural being sometimes applied to the Deity; but some think it means only “the common people,” contrasted to the mighty ones, or the superior sort, mentioned just before. Gr. has λαόν ἁγιον. So Iren. and Ar. Grotius observes from Josephus, xii. 7, that men of the greatest reputa-

and destroy the mighty ones, and the people of the
 25 saints. Also the yoke of his policy shall cause even
 fraud to prosper in his hand, and he shall be elated in
 his heart, and in times of tranquillity shall destroy
 multitudes; even against the prince of princes shall he
 stand up, but without any power shall he be broken

tion and most generous spirit among the Jews paid no regard to Antiochus, and therefore were harassed daily, and died under the most bitter torments.

25. *Also the yoke of his policy shall cause even fraud to prosper.*—“The Greek Interpreter has, *καὶ ὁ ζυγὸς τοῦ κλοίου αὐτοῦ*, with which Iren. agrees; *שכל* in Arab. signifies ‘a fetter or shackle.’ Cast. 9th signif. and Th. omits *ו* in *ויהצליו*—cause deceit to prosper.” Secker. One MS. omits *בירו* “in his hand.” The character which Grotius gives Antiochus may serve to throw light on this difficult passage. “He had no regard to piety or integrity, to any true or false God, but measured all things by the rule of his own convenience: He certainly deceived many nations, and by his flatteries and frauds obtained as well as enlarged his dominion, and under the colour of peace or pretended tranquillity he oppressed the unwary, and destroyed multitudes.” See 1 Mac. i. 30.

—*even against the prince of princes shall he stand up.*—“Gr. has, *ἐπὶ ἀπωλείας πολλῶν*. So Rom. Complut. Alex. Arab.—*שר רבים*—*שרד אללמי. אלוברעו*. *sæpe*—*pro שר שרים*. And the next clause Th. reads, *ὡς ὡα χειρὶ συντριψεί. ביצה* ovum, testiculus, *אשך* testiculus, and according to Schlind. ovum.” Secker. But MS. Pachom. reads the first clause agreeably to the present Heb. Text, and as it affords a most excellent sense corresponding with the vision at ver. 10—12; and the sense of Th. is already contained in the preceding clause, there can be no occasion for an alteration. The like in a great measure may be observed concerning the latter clause; and if it be referred to the sudden and untimely end of Antiochus, 2 Mac. ix. 5, the application will be strongly verified. It is observable also that Polybius and Josephus, as Dr. Prideaux has noted, p. ii. b. 3, both confirm the account which the authors of the books of Maccabees give of the death of Antiochus in a state of madness, from the apparitions and reproaches of spectres and evil spirits. And from this view of his death, after the strong expression at the end of the verse, “with a

- 26 down. Moreover the vision of the evening and the morning which hath been related is certainly true; but seal thou up the vision, since it is for many days.
- 27 Also I Daniel was deeply affected and languid for days, yet I arose and did the king's business; and though I was struck with astonishment at the vision, no one perceived it.

nothingness of hand shall he be broken," it probably is, that Mr. Godwin adds, "with melancholy."

26. —*The vision of the evening and morning—is—true.*—Truth itself, by a metonymy. See on ver. 14, and Chap. x. 1. The truth is certain, but must remain sealed up, or unknown, till the accomplishment. See Isa. xxiv. 22, Jer. xxxii. 14, Ezek. xxxviii. 8. The full accomplishment would probably look forward to a very distant period; and even in the earlier illustration of it which I have given above, it was a term of near 400 years from the first intimation of the vision in the third of Belshazzar, to the cleansing of the Sanctuary by Judas in the time of Antiochus.

I must not forget to observe, that in remembrance of this great mercy which God had shewed to his people, in delivering them from the tyranny and idolatry of Antiochus, a solemn feast was instituted, called *Εγκαenia*, or the Feast of Dedication, which was annually observed, in consequence of cleansing the Sanctuary and consecration of the Altar by Judas Maccabeus, for the space of eight days from the 25th day of the month Cisleu. 1 Mac. iv. 59. And to this St. John alludes, Chap. x. 22. "It was at Jerusalem, the feast of the dedication, and it was winter.

27. —*deeply affected and languid for days.*—Gr. *εκοιμηθην και εμαλακισθην*. concidi et ægrotavi. Michaelis suppl. Possibly the last word, ימים, thus situated without an adjunct, may be in the dual number, and mean "two days;" Gr. and one MS. have not the word *days*, but it is found in Theodoret and MS. Pachom. and two MSS. read "many days." We read in the New Test. δι' ημερων, "after days." Mark ii. i. "And none perceived that I had been thus affected and sick." Theodoret, and so Syr.

In the explication of this vision, I have referred to the usurpations of Antiochus for the primary sense of the ravages committed by the little horn; yet, at the same time, have often hinted that there are

CHAPTER IX.

I IN the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, a

many strong features in the vision, which favour the opinion of those who refer it to later times, under the Roman hierarchy, or the rule and dominion of Antichrist. I am of opinion, that in the spirit of prophecy both applications were meant to be comprehended; and I see no reason for not extending the prophetic visions or revelations to such events, to which by the rules of *fair* and *just* interpretation they shall be found applicable. The only sure way of knowing the meaning of a prophecy is by comparing it with the accomplishment; and if successions of events shall in more than one instance be found to agree and square exactly with a single series of predicted circumstances, I should be inclined to make the improvement as extensive as may be, consistently with truth and justice; and to acknowledge the wisdom and prescience of the divine Contriver, who is acquainted with all his works from the foundation of the world, and who could adapt human language in one form to such an admirable variety of purposes, thus “making his own strength perfect in weakness.” For an account of the different senses of prophecies see Bp. Lowth on Isa. xl. and De Sacr. Poes. Heb. Præl. xi. and other writers.

THIS Chapter contains a most affecting and ardent Prayer of Daniel, on a near view of the expiration of the Seventy Years allotted for Judah’s Captivity; the success of his Prayer is pointed out at the Conclusion of it, and the Deliverance of his Brethren is communicated to the Prophet in a very extraordinary Revelation by the Angel Gabriel; but the misconduct and ingratitude of the Jews would occasion the utter Destruction of their restored City, after a period, and by reason of an event, which the Prophecy plainly indicates.

1. *In the first year of Darius.*—See on Chap. vi. 1. The repetition at the next verse seems emphatical. The same date is men-

- descendant of the Medes, who was appointed to reign
 2 over the kingdom of the Chaldeans; In the first year
 of his reign I Daniel considered by the books the
 enumeration of the years, whereof the word of Jehovah
 came to Jeremiah the prophet, to complete seventy
 3 years for the desolations of Jerusalem. Then I looked
 up to the Lord God to inquire in prayer and supplica-

tioned at Ch. xi. 1. This Darius is said to be the son of Ahasuerus, or Astyages; and of the seed of the Medes, and therefore not Cyrus: Some think Ahasuerus was a common name for the kings of Media, as Nebuchadnezzar seems to have belonged to several kings of Babylon, and Pharaoh to many in Egypt. But see the Prelim. Diss.

2. —*considered by the books.*—Those rolls or records in which the prophecies of Jeremiah were written: And possibly other histories or antecedent prophecies that spoke of the captivity. See 1 Pet. 11, 12. “The enumeration of the *years*,” MS. A. has “days.” At the latter part of this verse the expression “to complete seventy years” is used, or rather adopted from Jer. Chap. xxv. 12, and again Chap. xxix. 10. “Vignoles, Vol. ii. p. 591, thinks these books were the two parts of Jeremiah, one of which ends Chap. xxv: For LXX place what remains in a different order. And one prophecy of the seventy years is in Chap. xxv. or the first part, and the other in Chap. xxix. Josephus ascribes to Ezekiel two books, and to Daniel several.” Secker. Daniel is calculating the term, doubtless with a view to the end of the captivity, which was now very far advanced. For the seventy years, commencing with the fourth of Jehoiakim, had reached to their fifty-first year, as we have seen at the close of Chap. iv. in the beginning of the reign of Nabonadius; to which, if we add his 17 years, we shall be carried on to the 68th year of the captivity in this first of Darius; and I suppose the whole period of seventy computation years was concluded in less than a year and half from the time of this prayer, that is, in the first year of Cyrus, or his third year according to Ptolemy, being the first that he reigned sole monarch after the death of Cyaxares.

3. —*the Lord God.*—One MS. has יהוה אדני, and ten read יהוה for אדני. Many MSS. also do the same at the beginning of the prayer in the next verse. And the like is observable in other parts of this chapter. The Prophet may seem perhaps, by the expression at

- 4 tions, with fasting and sackcloth and ashes. And I
 prayed unto Jehovah my God, and confessed and said,
 “O Lord, the God great and tremendous, keeping
 the covenant and mercy toward those that love him,
 5 and toward those that keep his commandments; We
 have sinned, and have acted perversely, and have done
 wickedly, and have rebelled, so as to apostatise from

the beginning of the verse, to be setting his face toward the holy city and temple, the peculiar residence of the Deity; but I rather think is meant, setting it toward heaven, or looking up, in the ordinary posture of devout prayer.

— *to inquire, &c.*—The Heb. idiom is somewhat peculiar, but the Greek imitates it, *τον ἐκζητῆσαι προσευχῇ*—Houbigant thinks we should read *בַּתְּפִלָּה*, as at ver. 21, and so Syr.

4. —“*O Lord, the God great and tremendous.*”—The emphatic *ה* is used before *אֱלֹהִים* and each of the epithets that follow, “the God, the great, the tremendous.” This prayer, which is occasioned by the greatest and most sincere concern for the captive Jews, is the result also of the deepest humiliation, and expressive of the strongest energies and most earnest affections. Jeremiah, at Chap. xxix. 12, had informed the people that if they prayed and sought the Lord in their foreign land, they should be heard; and Daniel performs this duty for himself and his countrymen with the greatest zeal and devotion, especially acknowledging the justice of God and their own unworthiness. See a like prayer, Nehem. i. 5, and at Chap. ix.

5. *We have sinned, &c.*—The several expressions used in this verse strongly denote the prophet’s deep lamentation for the accumulated iniquities of the Jews: There seems to be a kind of gradation in them, beginning first with sins in general, and rising to rebellion and apostasy. See 1 Kings viii. 47, where occur the three first verbs of this verse; the third *הָרַשָׁעְנוּ*, “we have done wickedly,” is rendered by Th. *ἡγομεθαμεν*, but by MS. Pachom. still stronger, *ἡσέβησαμεν*.

—*so as to apostatise from thy—ordinances.*—Mr. Dimock thinks with Houbigant that LXX and the other Versions read either *נִסְוֹר* or *וִסְרֵנוּ*; and it is true, they render in the first person plur. after the form of all the preceding verbs; but perhaps the present reading or the infinitive absolute may furnish the true sense without any

- 6 thy commandments and from thine ordinances; And have not hearkened to thy servants the prophets, who spoke in thy name to our kings, our princes, and to
 7 our fathers, and to all the people of the land. With thee, O Lord, is righteousness, but with us confusion of face, as at this day, with the men of Judah, and with the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and with all Israel that are near and that are distant, throughout all the countries whither thou hast driven them, by reason of their transgression which they have transgressed
 8 against thee. O Lord, with us is confusion of face, with our kings, with our princes, and with our fathers,
 9 because we have sinned against thee. With the Lord our God are mercies and forgivenesses, although we

alteration. See Bp. Lowth's note on Isai. xxi. 5. The like is observable at ver. 11 of this Chapter. For the sense here given of the last word of this verse, see the same excellent Prelate's note, Isai. xlii. 1, on the words *מִשְׁפָּחַת* and *צָדִיקָה*.

7. —*as at this day.*—Eight MSS. have *כְּהַיּוֹם*, “as at this very day.” Gr. “as this day,” or our present punishment and demerit, shews. So at ver. 15.

—*that are near and that are distant.*—Those Jews and Israelites that withdrew to the neighbouring countries, as well as those that were carried into Assyria.

—*by reason of their transgression.*—Gr. has, *ἐν ἀθεσῖα αὐτῶν ἡ ἡθετησαν*. Their idolatry and rebellion against God was their crying sin, in or through which they were driven out.

8. —*because we have sinned.*—For *אָשָׁר* one MS. reads *כִּי*, which is of much the same import generally, but often signifies “although,” as I have rendered it at the next verse. See Gen. viii. 21, Ps. xxv. 11, and Nold. p. 371. It is observable also that Th. begins this verse with, *Ὡς σοι Κύριε ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ*, but MS. Pachom. refers the two first words to the last verse, where they are wanting, and omits the others after *Κύριε*, thus bringing it to the present Heb. text. The nouns in the next verse for “mercies and forgivenesses” are very strong in the Gr. *οἰκτιρμοὶ* and *ἑλεησμοὶ*. Compassions and propitiations. See on Chap. i. 9.

- 10 have rebelled against him ; And have not hearkened to the voice of Jehovah our God, to walk in his laws which he hath set before us by his servants the
 11 prophets. Even all Israel have transgressed thy law, so as to revolt from hearkening to thy voice ; therefore the curse is poured down upon us, and the imprecation which is written in the law of Moses, the servant of
 12 God, because we have sinned against him. And he hath ratified his words which he spoke against us, and against our rulers which governed us, by bringing upon us a great calamity ; for under the whole heaven

10. —*by his servants.*—Heb. “by the hand, or hand-writing, of his servants ;” and so Gr. One MS. omits the word עֲבָדָיו “his servants,” but the Versions retain it. Moses must be comprehended among the prophets, as the next verse refers to him and his law. See ver. 6.

11. —*the curse is poured down upon us.*—The verb תתן is read תתן by two or three MSS. as if derived from נתן ; thou hast given or sent upon us ; and so Syr. but the present text is best. At the end of the verse for לו many MSS. read לך, “against thee ;” the sense is the same : In the present text the pronoun is referred to the word “God” just before. For the denunciations and imprecations, see Levit. xxvi and Deut. xxviii.

12. —*his words which he spoke against us.*—A great number of MSS. and among the rest the ancient Bodleian, concur with the Masora in dropping the Jod in דְּבָרָיו ; but the Versions read plurally, “his words.” For the last clause of this verse see Ezek. v. 9, and some of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. The devastations and havoc which had been committed at different times in Jerusalem had scarcely been equalled in ancient days, but perhaps we may find some resemblance in more modern times by consulting the Abbe Clavigero’s History of Mexico : Indeed the author himself in recounting the butcheries of Cortez, and the dreadful havoc of the siege of Mexico, reminds his readers of the disasters and slaughters at the siege of Jerusalem, and finally adds, “it appears that the slain exceeded 100,000 in number, and those who died by famine and sickness, Cortez affirms, were more than 50,000 ;” and that the city appeared one complete ruin. Cullen’s Trans. Vol. ii. p. 192.

- hath not been done like what hath been wrought upon
 13 Jerusalem. As it is written in the law of Moses, is all
 this calamity come upon us, yet have we not depre-
 cated the wrath of Jehovah our God, by turning from
 14 our iniquities, and by attending to thy truth. There-
 fore hath Jehovah closely attended to the calamity, and
 hath brought it upon us; for Jehovah our God is
 righteous in all his works which he doeth, and we have
 not hearkened to his voice.
 15 And now, O Lord our God, who broughtest out thy
 people from the land of Egypt with a strong hand, and
 hast made thyself a name as at this day, we have
-

13. —*this calamity come upon us.*—So Syr. but Heb. “evil.” Several MSS. read *הבואה* in Hiph. “he hath brought upon us,” as at the next verse. *Yet have we not deprecated the anger, or smoothed the face,* literally. See Taylor’s Concord. on *חלה*.

14. —*closely attended to the calamity.*—Heb. “watched over the evil.” The expression seems used in opposition to the careless security and inattention of the Jews at the close of the last verse. See the like at Jer. xxxi. 28, and xliv. 27.

15. —*who broughtest out thy people from—Egypt.*—At Jer. xxxii. 20, 21, the like expressions are used as at this verse. The Psalmist in Ps. lxxx. ver. 8, &c. has improved on this thought, and clothed it with some of those elegant poetic embellishments, which are the favourite style of the ancient prophets;

Thou broughtest up a vine out of Egypt,
 Thou expelledst the nations and didst plant it:
 Thou preparedst an opening before it,
 And when it was deeply rooted, it filled the land:
 The mountains were covered with its shadow,
 And the lofty cedars with its branches;
 She sent forth her shoots to the sea—the Mediterranean,
 And her suckers unto the river—the Euphrates.

In the clause that follows, “hast made thyself a name,” our Eng. Transl. of 1599 paraphrases, “hast gotten thyself renown.” See 2 Sam. viii. 13. Isai. lxiii. 12.

- 16 sinned, we have done wickedly. O Lord, according to all thy promised mercies let thine anger now be turned away, and thine indignation from thy city Jerusalem thy holy mountain; for through our sins, and through the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people have become a reproach to all that are
- 17 around us. Therefore now hearken, O our God, to the prayer of thy servant and to his supplications, and look propitious upon thy desolated Sanctuary for the
- 18 Lord's sake. Incline, O my God, thine ear, and

16. —*according to all thy promised mercies.*—Heb. צדקותיך בבל. See on ver. 5. The word seems to mean here the conditional mercies of God, or his truth in fulfilling his promises. Gr. has, ἐν πασῇ ἐλεημοσύνῃ σου. Some MSS. and Editions seem to read the word singularly by dropping the Jod: But Vulg. and Ar. join these words with the former verse; “We have done wickedly, O Lord, *against* all thy promised mercies;” and four MSS. of Ken. and seven of De R. read בבל. In the last verse the Prophet mentions the name or renown which the Almighty had procured to himself by his mercies; at the latter part of this he seems to contrast to it the general reproach with which his people had been overwhelmed on account of their sins.

17. —*for the Lord's sake.*—The Versions, למענך, “for thy sake, O Lord.” But I see no necessity for the introduction of the affix. Several MSS. have ידויה for אדני; and the Prophet seems to refer to the Messiah, the Propitiation, through whom the divine favours are granted. See Ps. lxxx. 15. Several Writers have either referred to this place for the exposition of that psalm, or to the psalm for the illustration of this passage. But the psalm is conceived to convey a very different meaning from that which our Translators in the early or later Version have given it: and as the allegory is extremely beautiful and highly poetical, I shall venture to continue the translation of it from the note at ver. 9, with the striking apostrophe that follows,

Wherefore hast thou broken down her fences,
So that all that pass along the way crop her?
The boar from the wood will root her up,

hearken, open thine eyes, and look upon the distresses of us and of the city which is called by thy name; for not in our own justifications do we pour out our supplications before thee, but by reason of thy great
 19 mercies. O Lord, hearken, O Lord, forgive, O Lord, attend and execute, delay not for thine own sake, O

And the wild beast of the field will devour her.
 God of hosts, return we beseech thee,
 Look down from Heaven *, and attend to this vine :
 The vineyard also, which thy right hand hath planted,
 And because of the son hath strengthened for thyself.
 Though it be burnt with fire and rooted up,
 They shall perish at the rebuke of thy countenance.
 Let thy protection be upon the man of thy right hand,
 Even upon the son of man, whom thou hast strengthened for
 thyself.
 So shall we not revolt from thee,
 Make us to live, and we shall call upon thy name.
 Jehovah, God of hosts, restore us ;
 Look propitious, and we shall be preserved.

In this last line is the same expression as in the verse before us is used by Daniel: Heb. "enlighten thy face," that is, look with a favourable unclouded countenance, as men do when they are kind and disposed to acts of benignity and mercy.

18. — *open thine eyes, and look upon.*—Many MSS. agree with Keri in dropping the ה in פקדה. This is spoken *ανθρωποπαθως*. Attentively observe (as it were with the pupil of the eye expanded to catch every ray of light) the distresses of the city, "over which thy name is called;" which is the literal Hebrew, and so the Versions, and the like at ver. 19.

19. — *forgive, O Lord.*—Gr. *λασθητι*, "be propitious." See ver. 9. The language of this verse indicates the greatest fervency; and the deliverance from the captivity is plainly alluded to.

* I have on the authority of one MS. dropped the word וראה "and see." Or if it must be retained, I suspect it to be nothing more than a mere pleonasm in the Heb. idiom, and that the meaning of it is fully expressed in the other verbs.

my God, since thy city and thy people are called by thy name."

- 20 And as I was yet speaking, and praying, and confessing my sins, and the sins of my people Israel, and pouring out my supplication before Jehovah my God
21 for the holy mountain of my God: Even as I was yet speaking in prayer, the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in a vision before, swiftly flying, reached me about
22 the time of the evening-oblation. When he brought information and talked with me, and said, "O Daniel, I am now come forth to improve thee in understanding.

20. —*for the holy mountain of my God.*—The temple, on the rocky mountain Jerusalem; see ver. 16. In this verse the several parts of prayer are recounted, such as invocation, confession, petition, and intercession; and the success is pointed at that usually attends it when uttered with zeal and sincerity. See Isai. lxxv. 24. "Pouring out my supplication" is in the Heb. "making it to fall." Vulg. prosternerem. I follow Syr. It denotes the great humility of the suppliant. So at ver. 18.

21. —*swiftly flying, reached me about the time of the evening oblation.*—Heb. מַעַף בִּיעָף "being made to fly swiftly:" The latter word may either come from the verb יָעַף "to be weary," intimating that the flight or expedition was so swift as to occasion lassitude; or else from עָף "to fly," a verb of the second sort of quiescents, assuming the form of the first, and thus will be a repetition, "to fly with flight," or very rapidly; and so Vulg. and Syr. understand it. נָגַע is properly "touched," but Syr. has, "came to, or reached me." See Chap. viii. 7. The time of the evening oblation was the ninth hour, or three in the afternoon, see 1 Kings xviii. 36, and Mr. Lowth's note. Some think this time was made choice of for the following communication, as being the same hour when the Messiah finished his sacrifice on the cross.

22. *When he brought information.*—One or two MSS. omit the word וַיְבִין. Some of the Versions add an affix, "he instructed me." Houbigant suggests וַיְבִין, "and he established and talked with me." Copt. has, "he erected and taught me."

—*to improve thee in understanding.*—Prof. J. D. Michaelis in

23 At the beginning of thy supplications the word was issued, which I am come to declare, because thou art greatly beloved; attend therefore to the word, that though mayest understand the Vision.

his Supplem. thinks the word בִּינָה to be of strong import both in this place and at Chap. x. 1, equivalent to *distincta declaratio*. Also at Chap. i. 20, and again at Chap. viii. 15, the import of the word may be nearly the same.

23. —*the word was issued*.—God's command or edict to the angel, relating to the future fate of Jerusalem; "which I am come to shew." Some MSS. and Versions add לָךְ, "to thee."

—*greatly beloved*.—Heb. חֲמוּרֵיךָ Vulg. Vir. desideriorum. Sym. Vir desiderabilis. Gr. ἀνὰ ἐπιθυμίαν; intensely beloved. So Mary, Luke i. 28, *κεχαρίτωμένη*. See Chap. x. 11, and on Chap. viii. ver. 9.

—*that thou mayest understand the Vision*.—Some think, the vision of the last chapter, relating to the days, or the continuance thereof: but surely rather the prophecy that follows.

24. A very great variety of interpretations hath been given to the important prophecy contained in the four following verses: Insomuch that there is scarce any point in the whole circle of science that hath more exercised the wit and the pens of the learned than that upon which we are now entering. The learned Grotius, in his note at the conclusion of this chapter, has the following words "Præ plurimis expositionibus hujus loci *de hebdomadibus*, quas ex Africano, Eusebio, Hippolyto, Appollinari, Cleménte, Origine, Tertulliano, Hebræis, Hieronymus recitat, hæc quam posui mihi videtur planissima. Veterum proxime ad verum semper accessit Chrysostomus, lib. ii. adversus Judæos." He himself refers the prediction, with the generality of writers, to the times of the Messiah, and considers the weeks as weeks of years.

Considerable lights have doubtless been thrown on passages in Scripture within these few years, from the collation of Heb. MSS. and a comparison of the original text with the ancient Versions, especially the LXX. This famous passage hath been corrected by the same helps in our own and other countries; and though the attempts discover great diligence and ingenuity, yet the success, in my humble judgment, does not seem to have been answerable. Moreover, the chief difficulty with modern expositors, and indeed with

most, has been to ascertain the chronology, and reconcile it with that of profane writers, especially with the invaluable Canon of Ptolemy : Hence have arisen different opinions concerning the beginnings and endings of the times herein mentioned, as well as different modes of calculating them ; but the substance of the matter predicted was with Petavius, Usher, Prideaux, Lloyd, and other writers, foreign as well as domestic, nearly the same. However, a late anonymous Writer, in what he calls a free inquiry into this vision or prophecy, seemingly dissatisfied with the freedoms taken with the text, has pursued a quite different method of interpretation, and confined the weeks *altogether* to weeks of days : By this means reducing the whole of this prediction to little more than what Jeremiah had foretold already, to a much shorter term than either of the preceding visions in their most curtailed view, and certainly to a point scarce suitable to so long a preamble, so ardent a prayer, and so solemn an interference of a messenger from heaven.

And yet I cannot help agreeing so far with this Writer as to conclude, that the Prophecy hath in part a reference to the event which terminated at the close of the seventy weeks of days, to which he would altogether confine it. From the preface to the prayer, or the reason of it, mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, it is evident that the Prophet was enquiring after the period that would finish the captivity ; throughout the prayer likewise he has an eye to the return of the Jews, to the restoration of the temple-worship at Jerusalem, and to the firm establishment of the true Church of God. Whatever farther views therefore might have filled the mind of this highly-esteemed Prophet, as the spirit of prophecy, which had extended his views so far in the former visions, undoubtedly carried them in the present instance beyond the near approach of this first restoration ; yet, as this appears to have been strongly in his hopes, any interpretation of the prediction, that would not gratify his desires in this respect, must seem defective, as it will not answer the *primary* expectation which appears to have been in his mind, and which he doubtless wished with a very fervent regard. However it may have been overlooked before, or escaped the notice of others, I am quite of opinion that the prophecy has a plain reference in the first verse of it to the deliverance from the captivity ; and, looking through this, it carries us forward to another more august redemption, the deliverance from sin by the death of the Messiah, and the consequences that would from hence accrue to the Jews. And as the prediction was not fully *published*, probably till the end of the cap-

24 Seventy precise weeks are upon thy people, and upon

tivity with the rest of the visions, or after this first part had received its completion, so the satisfaction to be derived from its being fulfilled in the first or typical instance, might prepare and strengthen the minds of those to whom it was immediately addressed, to receive it with confidence in its full completion as to the more distant events likewise.

I can only at present offer these preliminary hints, which will be farther illustrated in the commentary. Nor must I dwell on either ancient or modern expositions; but from a review of many that I have met with, and from the best helps I could collect, I have endeavoured to form an interpretation that approves itself to my best and most dispassionate judgment, which has been already given in the translation, and which I shall endeavour to explain and illustrate with the following observations.

24. *Seventy precise weeks.*—Fourteen MSS. read the former word שבועים, *weeks*, and so the Versions; the same is observable in the following verses. The word נזרתך is rendered by Th. and Vulg. as a verb in Niphal, “are abbreviated;” from נזרתך incido, concido. Gr. συντremνω; and though it is not to be found elsewhere in the Bible, yet in the Chald. Par. on Esth. iv. 5, it is rendered decided,” and in this sense it is used by the Jews. In a like view Mr. Godwin translates it, “cut out,” and assigns this reason, “because they numbered by cutting notches,” which was probably the case in the more early and simple times. Now whether the word be considered as a noun or a verb, that is, for weeks of abbreviation, or that are abbreviated, though I rather prefer the former with the auxiliary verb understood, yet in either case its intention seems to be to limit the period to weeks of days, in contradistinction to those that follow in the next verses, which will appear to be weeks of years, or the usual prophetic weeks of a day to a year, according to Numb. xiv. 34, and Ezek. iv. 6. And thus the passage will convey a direct answer to the primary design of the prayer in the preceding part of the chapter, or a fixed period for the termination of the captivity.

Most writers agree that Darius reigned best part or near the whole of two years; and that he reigned more than one seems implied by the *first* year of Darius mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, and again by the angel some years after at Chap. xi. 1. Now from some part of this first year, when the Prophet made his inquiry, and

thy holy city, to restrain the apostasy, and to put an

the word was issued and communicated to him by the angel, we must reckon seventy weeks, which will carry us far into the second of Darius, or until Cyrus became sole monarch, and published his decree, Ezra. i. 1, for the return of the Jews, and the rebuilding the Temple or the house of the Lord in Jerusalem. By this time their apostasy, their bold transgression, would be checked, their iniquity purged, or in some measure expiated by their punishment, the primitive purity or rules of ancient righteousness restored, the vision of the prophet Jeremiah, or his predictions, sealed or finished, that is, fully accomplished, and the holy things were again to be devoted to their sacred and proper uses. “*Peccatum, delictum, iniquitas metonymice dicta puto pro pœna peccati &c. uti sæpe Justitia pro benevolentia et gratia divina, ut Esai. xlv. 1, et xlviii. 18, quæ fuit עֲלֵמִים temporum antiquorum. Esai. li. 9.*” Dathius. And he refers the whole verse to the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity. Moreover Houbigant and others render קדש קדשים Sanctum Sanctorum, or “the most holy things,” not the Christ, who is called Messiah at ver. 25, 26: The anonymous author, alluded to in the foregoing note, refers it to the setting up the altar of burnt-offering. Ezra iii. 2, 3.

As to the variations in this verse, I follow the printed Editions in rendering the word כָּלָא, “to restrain;” but thirty or forty MSS. read כָּלָה, with the old Versions, our English one, and the Polyglotts and Hexaplars, which is a good sense. The next word פֶּשַׁע is more properly referred to rebellion or outrage, to the crime of apostasy or idolatry, and thus is distinguished from sins in general at the following clause; in which it may be noted, that a great number of MSS. and Versions follow Keri, and לִהְיוֹת with *He* instead of *Cheth*, and also the noun חַטָּאת without the ו; so that it may be understood singularly. One or two MSS. drop ו before נִבְיָא, and read הַנְּבִיָּא “the vision of the prophet.”

I would observe farther that some, conceiving weeks of years to be intended, have, from the idea of abbreviation or precision, limited these years to lunar ones, which are about eleven days shorter than the solar years, but I believe are never used for computations in Scripture. However, this shews the general sense they entertained of the word נִחַתָּךְ, which I conceive to be of like import in this place with שְׁבַעִים יָמִים, at the second and third verses of the next chapter, and one reason that may be assigned why this term is preferred here

end to sins, and to expiate iniquity, and to bring in the righteousness of ages, and to seal the vision even
 25 of the prophet, and to anoint the holy of holies. Yet know and understand, from the going forth of an edict

is, because of the typical meaning intended by the expression, which the limitation of *weeks of days* might not have so well answered.

Thus have I given and explained what I take to be the primary intention of this part of the prophecy. But beside this, I think also it had a secondary reference to the transactions recounted in the latter part; which I conclude from the coincidence of the number of weeks, and also from the language itself of this 24th verse; which by a fair interpretation may doubtless have respect unto the Unction of the most Holy, or, as Syr. Paraphr. has it, unto Christ; from whom remission of sins was expected, who was to promulgate an everlasting gospel of righteousness, and in whom all the legal types were substantiated. And indeed this secondary view appears to have been so full and strong in the Prophet's mind, that some of his expressions in this first verse seem to pass beyond the former deliverance, and to be occupied, I had almost said engrossed, in the latter. "Thus also in the latter part of Isaiah's prophecies, the subject of the great redemption, and of the glories of the Messiah's kingdom, arises out of the restoration of Judah by the deliverance from the captivity of Babylon, and is all along connected and intermixed with it." Bp. Lowth on Isai. xi. See also his note on Isai. xl. at the beginning.

25. *Yet know and understand.*—Thus I think the former ו should be rendered; not as merely intended to explain the preceding verse, but as introducing a solemn engagement of the Prophet's attention to the fate of his people and city that follows; and thus when our Saviour refers to this prophecy in the gospel, he adds also this general remark, "whoso readeth, let him understand." Matt. xxiv. 15.

—*from the going forth of an edict.*—Or, word. Some will have the word מִצָּא here to signify "the taking effect," deriving it from a verb that signifies "to find;" but as very many MSS. read מוֹצֵא, thus evidently deriving it, with the Masoretes, from יָצָא "to go out," and as the Versions follow this reading, I have rendered it accordingly. What the word or edict is we shall shew presently.

—*to rebuild Jerusalem.*—Heb. to restore and to build, and so at the latter end of the verse. This sense of the verb שָׁב is well known:

to rebuild Jerusalem until Messiah the prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks; it shall

But some chose to understand it as of stronger import in the passage before us, and perhaps with reason. See Chap. x. 20. * One MS. has the word חומת the *wall* or *walls*, before Jerusalem; an alteration that must favour the opinion of a later edict than that of Cyrus, or its confirmation by Darius Hystaspes.

—*until Messiah the Prince.*—Gr. *εως Χριστου ηγουμενου*. Vulg. usque ad Christum ducem, and so the other Versions; that is, until the awful period when the business of his life was finished, until his hour was come, when he was to glorify his Father, or when he was to be cut off by a voluntary suffering for the sins of mankind; and thereby triumph as a prince over death, and over all his and our enemies. All the circumstances of his life are omitted, or rather comprehended in this final one, when all things that were written of him were accomplished.

At Isai. xlv. 1, Cyrus is called Messiah, “Thus saith the Lord to his *anointed*, to Cyrus;” But not to observe that in the prediction that follows he is considered as a type of Christ, it should be remembered that the term Messiah or anointed is there limited by the following term, to Cyrus: But in the instance before us it is used absolutely, and with an appellative noun, *the prince* נגיד, annexed; so that with such attributes as Daniel assigns to it in this vision, the term *Messiah* was never applied in Scripture to any earthly prince whatsoever.

—*shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks.*—That is, in the whole, sixty-nine weeks of years. Both periods will be remarkably distinguished; the former, or the narrow limit of the times, as it follows in the next clause, is that in which Jerusalem was to be rebuilt; of the other we shall speak at ver. 26. Now that weeks of years are here meant is not only evident from the term of limitation or precision at ver. 24 being omitted, but from the usage of the word העתים “the times,” at the close of the verse, which not only in Daniel, but at similar passages in the Revelations, is to be understood of *years*. At Chap. xi. 13, the term is explained, “at the end of the times” העתים, the years שנים; and one MS. in this place reads השנים העתים. And thus the literal signification of the expression

* See an account of this Italian MS. No. 249, in Kenn. Gen. Dissert. p. 127.

be rebuilt, the streets and their walls, in the narrow

בצוק העתים (which should always be adopted where it can, in preference to the metaphorical) will be, in *angustiâ temporum*, or “within the narrow period of the times.” And so A. Purver translates, “in the shortest of the times.” And *Encyclopedie*, “dans le peu de tems.” That the word *week* is also understood for a period of seven years, may be learnt from Gen. xxix. 27, where “to fulfil her week” is explained by performing another seven years’ service for Rachael; and in Lev. xxv. 8, seven sabbaths, i. e. weeks of years, are seven times seven years; and this I take to be in general the sense, unless where the context or some parallel passage defines or determines it to *days*, as in Lev. xxiii. 15, 16, Exod. xxxiv. 22, and here at ver. 24, and in the next chapter; and thus Grotius observes of it very justly, “*mos erat loquendi, et manet apud Thalmudicos.*” Nor was this mode of speaking in use only among the Jews; for Calmet in his *Dissertation* on the seventy weeks observes, that Varro, speaking of himself, says, he was entered into the twelfth week of his age, at the close of which he would have been eighty four years old; also that he had written seven weeks of volumes, or in other words 490 volumes. If the reader is desirous of seeing some reasons for the distinction of the number *seven* among the ancient Hebrews, as for a sabbath of days, of weeks, of months, and of years, and a sabbath of sabbaths, all of which seem calculated chiefly with an eye to the Creation, and for the purpose of preventing idolatry, he may consult *Spencer de leg. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 6, p. 118. 4to.*

—*it shall be rebuilt, the streets and their walls.*—That is, Jerusalem or the city, as the verbs are feminine, and the following nouns masculine. רחוב may mean the broad area on which it was to be built, or perhaps the wide spaces within the walls, and therefore be properly rendered *street*, or rather collectively, *streets*: The other word חרוץ is derived from a verb, which, according to some, signifies “to move forward,” or “to cut in,” and is thence taken to mean, the wall raised from the selected ruins of the former city, so Gr. and Vulg. or, according to Mr. Mede, p. 700, the ground marked out for the ditch or limits; so MS. Pachom. περιτειχος; and so A. Purver, the streets and ditches, probably to supply the city with water, or for fortifications. Others will have it to be the intersections or lanes between the streets, agreeably to that passage in St. Luke xiv. 21. Go

into the streets and lanes of the city, *eis tas πλατειας και ρυμιας*, into the broad and narrow streets, including both words, and this is followed by Syr. Dr. Blayney renders the words as gerunds, *progrediendo et dilatando*. But after all, the proper sense of *וְיִרְוּ* is something decided or finished; see Cast. Lex. and perhaps if both the nouns were thus rendered, "the enlargements and their completions," it would not be far from the truth: At least I doubt not but in whatever sense they are taken, they are meant to intend jointly the complete building of the city, and accommodation of its inhabitants. To the last word I have in my translation joined the Vau that follows, which one MS. drops.

Now from these considerations we may fairly deduce a farther argument to prove that these weeks cannot be understood literally for weeks of days: for it must be next to impossible for a few poor exiles, to build completely such a city as Jerusalem in so small a space of time as less than two months; and this too, after they were just settling from a long and tedious journey out of the land of Chaldaea.

Besides, we know that the city was not rebuilt long after, see Ezra iv. 21. Nor did the decree of Cyrus, in the first place at least, propose the restoration of the city, but only to build a house to the Lord, *Ezr. Chap. i.* and this was not built till after the second year of Darius Hystaspes *, *Ch. v. 16*, nor indeed finished till the third day of the month Adar, in the sixth year of that monarch, *Chap. vi. 15*.

In the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus Ezra obtained a decree fully to establish the Temple-worship, (see *Chap. vii.*) which was effected and arranged accordingly. And in the 20th of Artaxerxes an edict was granted to rebuild the city, and Nehemiah was sent up with a full commission for that purpose; *Neh. Chap. ii. 6—8*. Now I would follow the opinion of those, who from this period, i. e. from the year 445 before Christ, or the vulgar Christian æra, in 303 of Ptolemy's Canon, and 4269 of the Julian period, commence the calculation of these weeks, and from hence date the issuing of the word or edict mentioned in the verse before us. And this is the time fixed for their commencement, as D'Herbelot tells us, by Abulfarage and the oriental writers.

The learned Dr. Prideaux has fixed on a period of seven weeks, or 49 years, for the restoration of the Jewish church and polity, or the full rebuilding the city in a figurative sense; and this he dates from

* Most writers agree that there was a space of just seventy years from the destruction of the Temple and City to the rebuilding the Temple in this second year of Darius. See *Zech. i. 33*, and *Bp. Newcome's* note there.

the seventh of Artaxerxes, and finishes with the last act of Nehemiah's reformation, Chap. xiii. from the 23rd verse to the end, which he computes to have taken up a space of just 49 years : See his Connect. p. i. b. 5. The excellent Bp. Lloyd rather chooses to understand this part of the prophecy in its literal sense ; and Mr. Marshall, who has followed him, has shewn several defects in the plan of Dr. Prideaux, and begun the computation of the Bishop from the 20th year of Artaxerxes. From thence the Bishop reckons 49 years to the end of prophecy, or to the Prophet Malachi's writing his book ; but Mr. Marshall, still pursuing the literal sense of the expression before us, finishes the period of 49 years with the full completion of the city. Yet it is to be remembered that they both reckon by years of 360 days only, or of twelve months, allowing to each thirty days ; which indeed are the usual years of computation in the ancient Scriptures, and which I suspect are meant in this passage by the usage of the word " times." This whole matter is well supported by Mr. Marshall, and illustrated by tables, in his Chron. Treatise on the seventy weeks of Daniel, p. ii. c. 4, to which I must refer the reader.

We read, Nehem. vii. 4, that the city was large and great, but the people few therein, and the houses not builded ; there were doubtless some convenient habitations for the persons who had been employed in building the Temple, and the ancient site of the city might have been again marked out, and in some measure cleared from rubbish ; but it was some time after the arrival of Nehemiah at Jerusalem before the wall was restored, and before the people were recalled from the cities round about in which they dwelt, and begun to be settled in the new city. The wall, indeed, had its first grand repairing, or running up, in so short a time as 52 days, on account of the apprehensions of the governor and people of interruptions from neighbouring invaders ; but still the parts of it received continued accessions of strength by new works and additional improvements ; the inhabitants multiplied exceedingly, and it was foretold by the prophet Zechariah that they should do so ; " Jerusalem shall dwell in villages, for the multitude of men and of cattle within her. And I will be unto her, saith Jehovah, a wall of fire round about ; And glory will I be within her." Chap. ii. 4, 5. And for the settlement of all its inhabitants, and providing them with suitable houses, if we may judge of the size of Jerusalem from the account which Josephus gives of it at the invasion of the Romans (De Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 9.) when the number of souls in it amounted to near three millions, we cannot think a space of near half a century too much to be allowed for its complete esta-

26 limit of the times : Then after the threescore and two

blishment. But see this matter also more fully stated by Mr. Marshall, p. i. c. iv. p. 144, and again in the next chapter, and in his table.

De Rossi observes, that one MS. has the word *ושבוע* "and a week," after the words "weeks seven," which must refer to the one week that follows at ver. 27. But the alteration would introduce a sort of irregularity in the times, as well as confusion in the text.

26. *Then after the threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off.*—That is, after the sixty-two added to the seven foregoing weeks, or after the termination of 483 years. One MS. has the same word *הערים* "which concludes the last verse, following the first word of this ; "after the times, the weeks threescore and two : " In the present text the letter *ה* before *שבועים* determines the reference to the same number in the preceding verse. Aq. and Sym. have, "after the seven weeks, and sixty two."

Dr. Prideaux, joining the two numbers, makes them end with the preaching of John the Baptist, A. D. 26, to which adding the single week that follows in the next verse, he carries the period for the determination of the prophecy to A. D. 33, the year of our Lord's passion ; and from the seventh of Artaxerxes, or the year of the Julian period 4256, in the Jewish month Nisan, to the year of our Lord 33, or of the Julian period 4746, and to the passover in that year, which was always in the month Nisan, are just 490 solar years ; and thus far he is exact. But neither the date of his commencement of the prophecy will, according to our sense, suit with the language of it ; nor can the last week, as will appear hereafter, be determined or ended with the death of Christ. In Bp. Lloyd's scheme the space of 69 weeks or 483 years, reckoning from the Nisan of the 20th of Artaxerxes, or An. 445 before Christ, after the rate of 360 days to a year, will have its period in the month Ijar, or in our May of the vulg. æra 32 ; after which period, or at the passover that next followed, our Lord was crucified, *cut off* by an ignominious death, agreeably to the proper sense of the word *כרת* ; see the tables mentioned above. I must beg leave farther to add, that I think with the Masoretes and the generality of interpreters, that the word *יכרת* must in this place be certainly understood passively, "shall be cut off ;" that this form is most agreeable to the pointed expression and laconic

weeks shall Messiah be cut off; and though none shall be for him, the people of the Prince that cometh

energy of the whole prediction, and that the two following words, to mention no other objection, will not admit of its being rendered in an active or transitive form by a fair or natural construction.

The Coptic Version, both in the Royal Parisian Library, and in that of St. Germain de Pres has, "after *seventy* two weeks;" possibly by a mistake of seventy for sixty: There are other variations also in other Versions, but no alteration seems wanting.

—*and though none shall be for him, the people of the Prince that cometh shall destroy the city and the sanctuary.*—The two Vaus that begin this and the next clause may be rendered, "and though." And I think this the true sense of the passage; and that the former clause relates to the deserted state of the Messiah, who was to be, as Isaiah had foretold, "despised and rejected of men, so that all should be ashamed of him, hiding as it were their faces from him;" and, as we read in the evangelists, the facts were so far verified, that even "all his disciples forsook him and fled." Yet afterwards when he should come again as a prince, his armies should destroy those murderers, and burn up their city. Matt. xxvii. 7. A great variety of interpretations hath been given to the words לוֹא יִהְיֶה לוֹ: This that I have offered is that of Vatablus, but I do not find that he connects it with the following clause, as I have done. If any doubt should arise, from the construction of these words in other parts of the Bible, I would offer the following rendering, which will amount to much the same with the foregoing, at least will agree equally well with my translation of the other parts of the passage, "and though *not his*, yet the people of the prince," &c, that is, though not the people under the immediate subjection of the Messiah, yet those of a future prince, meaning the Romans, should destroy, &c. So we read in Wiclif's translation, "and it shall not be *his* people." Houbigant, following the Gr. of Theodotion, somewhere supplies the word יִי, *kai krīma* οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ, *indictâ causâ damnabitur*: and makes "Messiah" the nomin. case to the verb in the next clause, "HE shall overturn the city—with the prince that cometh." Gr. also reads ἐν as a preposition, as do Syr. Hexap. LXX, and many others. Moreover one MS. reads הַנִּגִּיל agreeably to הַנִּגִּיל, ο *ερχομενος*, that follows: thus by the ה perfixed to each word referring them to each other: And as I

shall destroy the city and the sanctuary ; so that they shall cut down as with an inundation, and even to the
27 end of a decisive war shall be desolations. Yet one week

believe it to be an invariable rule in the Heb. language, that where an adjective and substantive are thus connected by the prefix to each, they have a mutual reference. The Versions also agree in joining together these words, and whether we refer them to Vespasian, or to Christ through the subordinate agency of Cæsar, they relate to the same event.

—so that they shall cut down as with an inundation.—Gr. *εκκοπησονται εν κατακλυσμῳ*. MS. Pachom. *και εκκοπησονται ως εν κατακλυσμῳ*. Instances are frequent where the Caph of similitude is implied when omitted ; see 1 Sam. xv. 23. And indeed the expression may be considered as more agreeable to the symbolic language of prophecy, with the particle of similitude omitted, than if it were inserted. Four MSS. read קִיָּצוּ as a verb in Hiph. That desolating wars are often denoted by inundations ; see Jer. xlvii. 2, Isa. viii. 8, and Dan. xi. 10. See also Iliad. v. ver. 87, &c., several passages in the Æneid, as

hinc densi rursus inundant

Troes, Agyllinque ; et pictis Arcades armis Æn. xii. 280.

The devastations committed by Titus and the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem were astonishingly great. “The wrath of God was now to come upon them to the uttermost.” 1 Thess. ii. 16. And the war might justly be termed decisive, as it entirely demolished the city and the sanctuary, not leaving one stone upon another, according to our Lord’s prediction, Mar. xiii. 2, and dispersed the people in such a manner that they have had no settled city or polity since. See Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. vii, and the note at the end of the next verse. The Gr. has here *πολεμου συντετμημενου*, which I follow ; but some consider נִחַרְצָת as a fem. absolute, and in statu constructo with the word following, *decisa desolationum*, or the most complete desolations : So Cappellus, “*præcisa, vel exquisitissima desolationum*.”

27. *Yet one week shall make a firm Covenant to many*.—The verb הִגְבִּיר “shall make firm,” may be referred for a nomin. case to the prince, or the people ; and so the verb in the next clause, in which case we should there translate, “And in the midst or half of the week.” I follow Gr. and Ar.

It has been objected, and with reason, to Bp. Lloyd’s exposition of

the seventy weeks, that this week is not in continuance with the others; for whereas the sixty-nine weeks were finished a little before our Saviour's passion in the year 33; this he does not begin till 63; not long before the breaking out of the Jewish war, when the Romans were making treaties with other nations, or making a firm covenant with them, that they might without molestation pursue the war with the Jews. In the interpretation here offered of ver. 24, this objection is removed, as the continuance of the time is preserved as far as was needful, which was only to the end of the captivity; and the typical reference may be either in weeks continued or interrupted: They do not commence with the exact termination of the captivity, nor does it seem at all necessary that their term should in no point, or for no reason, be discontinued. However the first sixty-nine weeks from their commencement to the death of Christ are uninterrupted. From this period till the time that the Messiah should come again as a prince, several important events were to take place, such as that his religion was to be established, and his gospel preached unto all the world, or all the chief parts of the then Roman empire, beginning at Jerusalem*: And that some interval must be allowed for this seems intimated in the prediction itself in the word *הבא*, "He that should come," whose coming was not to happen till all things were prepared and ready for it. Besides, the prophecy must naturally bring to our recollection three principal events relating to the Messiah, his birth, his death, and his coming to judgment on the Jews: Now the latter of these, or the commencement of the Jewish war was in the year of our Lord 66; the half of this, or the year 33, was that of his death; and thus perhaps a very good reason may be assigned, why the former period might terminate with the death of Christ, as that was the middle point of the time between his first advent, or his birth, and his second, or his coming to judge the Jews. Or the whole of this may be regarded as one period or advent, about the midst of which the most important event was to take place, and which therefore deserved more especial distinction.

This one week, however, is not to be confined to the Passion, or the

* "It appears in the Epistles, and from the Acts of the Apostles, that Jerusalem, and the society of believers in that city, long continued the centre from which the missionaries of the religion issued, with which all other churches maintained a correspondence and connection, to which they referred their doubts, and to whose relief in times of public distress they remitted their charitable assistance." Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, p. 410. Now this was a strong reason why Jerusalem should continue for a time after our Lord's death, until his religion had taken firm root among men. Nor does his coming seem to have been completed, till the events, with which it was so closely and necessarily connected, were accomplished.

shall make a firm Covenant with many, and the midst of the week shall cause the sacrifice and the meat-

publication of the evangelical covenant founded upon it, but is rather the seven years of the Jewish war : During which period many were remarkably preserved, and suffered to escape from the distresses of the siege ; especially at the commencement of it, about the year 66, when the Roman general Cestius withdrew his troops as it were in a panic, whereas had he continued the siege but a little longer, he must have taken the city ; and this Josephus attributes to the immediate power of God, “who being angry with the wicked, would not suffer the wars at that time to be ended.” De Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. 19, 20.

—*and the midst of the week shall cause the sacrifice and the meat-offering to cease.*—Every sort of offering made by fire, all the expiatory sacrifices, see Heb. x. 6, or rather, the allusion seems to be, according to Exod. xxix. 38, and Numb. xxviii. 3, to the sacrifice of the continual burnt-offering, which according to Josephus (De Bel. Jud. lib. vi. c. 2,) did cease for want of persons to attend it, a little before the taking of the city in the year 70, or in the fourth year of the war. Those that refer this passage to the death of Christ, who by his one oblation of himself once offered did put an end to all sorts of sacrifices, or the ritual of the Jewish worship, fix this event at the end of the 70th week, or nearly at the expiration of those seven years ; and thus render the words, “*in the half of the week, &c.,*” meaning the latter half, and near the close of that ; but this is so great a latitude, as nothing but the support of a favourite hypothesis could suggest. Yet indeed Dr. Prideaux and Bp. Lloyd have both given this sense to the term חצִי, though referring the verse to different events. The general opinion seems to have been, that the period of this prophecy, so far as it relates to the weeks, closes soon after the expiration of this half week, or with the termination of the sacrifice and meat-offering ; and though I would refer the last week to the *seven* years of the Jewish war, or from the year 66 to the year 73, yet I conceive that the main business of the war was ended, and consequently the period of the weeks ceased soon after the year 70. And this may perhaps suggest another reason why the word נִחַתַךְ was used at ver. 24, to denote by its typical reference the abbreviation, and possibly too the discontinuance or separation of this last week. If this be admitted, the propriety and energy of that expression will be much more apparent.

offering to cease; and when upon the border shall be

—*and when upon the border shall be the abomination of desolation.*— Many MSS. have ועל instead of ועל; but I prefer the latter. Gr. *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν*. Vulg. in templo. MS. Pachom. seems to explain by *ἐπὶ πτερύγιον*. Syr. has “over the extremities, or borders.” The temple is properly the holy place, 1 Kings viii. 10, Acts vi. 13, and in many other passages. The Vau at the beginning of this clause, and that in ועל at the next, may be considered as connecting the clauses, as I have rendered, “and when &c.” Perhaps instead of the abomination of desolation, see the like expression, Ch. xi. 31, it would be more agreeable to the present text, “the abominations of the desolator:” But the royal Parisian MS. has בְּהִיבֵל יְהִיָּה שְׁקוֹן. Gr. *βδελυγμία*; and our Saviour quotes thus, *βδελυγμία ἐρημώσεως*. Mat. xxiv. 15. By the term שְׁקוֹן, which is probably right, seems to be meant that sort of abominations or pollutions which proceeds from bodies alive or dead that were unclean; see Lev. vii. 21, Chap. xi. 10, Ezek. viii. 10, כַּנֵּף is properly the wing of a bird spread out in flying, and thence by an easy metaphor denotes the roof or top of any building, especially in the east, and consequently of the Temple, called *πτερύγια* by St. Mat. and St. Luke. The abominations therefore may here mean the Zealots, who were slain standing on the battlements of the temple, and whose carcases and blood were sprinkled about the sanctuary before its final destruction. See this opinion fully explained in a note in Bp. Kidder’s *Demonstr. of the Messiah*, p. ii. p. 11. If this sense be admitted, the meaning of the passage will be, and when the city shall be torn with internal butcheries, as well as foreign invasions, then will its entire devastation follow.

Or if this opinion should not be altogether approved, by the abominations may be meant the idolatrous ensigns of the Roman army, what Josephus calls *σημαῖαι περισχυσαὶ τοῦ αἵον*, signs about the eagle, which he soon afterwards calls *Ἱερά*, sacred or holy, lib. iii. c. 5, or as Tacitus, in his second book of *Annals*, calls them, *propria legionum Numina*. Titus brought these military signs into the ruins of the temple, placed them over against the eastern gate, and sacrificed to them there. *De Bell. Jud.* lib. vi. c. 6. And if to this we add, from Luke xxi. 20, the Roman armies themselves encompassing Jerusalem, we may come up to the full sense of the abominations here meant. When the beginnings of these evils made their appearance, it was then

the abomination of desolation, that which is decided, until the full accomplishment, shall be poured upon the desolate."

time for the Christians to fly : And accordingly many took the advice which our Saviour had given them, and fled from Judea into the mountains : At the commencement of the profanation many withdrew to Pella, a town beyond Jordan, and by this means were rescued from the impending fate of the city. Mark xiii. 20, and Luke xxi. 18.

—*that which is decided, until the full accomplishment, shall be poured upon the desolate.*"—The word נְחֻרְצָה I take to be a feminine absolute, and with the ך prefixed (which Houbigant deems superfluous) to be equivalent to a substantive of the neuter gender, and the nominative case to the verb that follows : The Gr. has συντελεια. Michaelis thinks the word denotes something "decided by the lot of fate." Suppl. p. 945. See the like word at Chap. xi. 36.

The days of vengeance were now come, when all things which were written should be fulfilled. And that it was a general opinion that the entire destruction of the city was previously determined by Providence, may perhaps be collected from a passage in Josephus, De Bel. Jud. lib. vi. c. 4, which he refers to the temple. "The sentence of God had already determined that it should be consumed with fire ; and now the fatal day, after many years, was come, which was the 10th of the month Loi (or August), the day on which the king of Babylon had fired it once before, yet it was now set on fire by our own countrymen, who were indeed the cause thereof." The latter part of which passage may incline us to believe, that the havoc occasioned by the besieged themselves was a circumstance not unlikely to be alluded to in this prediction. See the former note.

How fully the prediction was accomplished in this last respect must be notorious to every one who has read, or will read, Josephus's history on the Jewish war. The author was an eye-witness of the desolations, and he observes that never any city suffered such things, and that it was so levelled that none who had seen it before could believe it had ever been inhabited. Jerusalem was indeed then trodden down of the Gentiles, and so must remain, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled, i. e. as Mr. Lowth has observed, till the times of the fourth monarchy, spoken of Ch. ii. and vii. are expired. And this is doubtless the meaning of the *full accomplishment* here in the text :

Its fate was decided, and would be gradually fulfilling, as we see it has been ever since. The word *תהך* "shall be poured" is a metaphorical term borrowed from the effusion of metals, and is therefore a just symbol of the wretched state of this desolated people, who were to be melted down among all the nations of the earth; yet still to be so far kept separate and distinguished, that their fate might be marked, and their final restoration in God's due time fully evinced. Vulg. has "perseverabit," and Mr. Mede, "shall continue."

Josephus tells us, in the same book above cited, that many of the Jews were afterwards massacred in other cities and countries, especially in Syria and Egypt; and he freely owns "that those calamities and desolations very justly fell upon his countrymen; and that had not the Romans come against these criminals, they would have been swallowed up by an earthquake, or perished by a deluge, or have been consumed by fire, like Sodom; the Jews being more impious than any of those unhappy people that had thus suffered."

Philostratus also relates, that when the neighbouring nations wished to crown Titus on account of his victory, he told them that he was unworthy of that honour, as he himself had not been the author of such works, but had only lent his hands to the Deity, who was demonstrating his resentment against the Jews. See de Vit. Apollon. lib. vi. c. 14.

During the war 97,000 were taken, and 1,100,000 slain; and the authors of the Univ. Hist. vol. x. p. 688, 8vo, reckon the whole amount of the captives and slain to have been 1,445,000, besides 10,000 slain at Jotapa, and multitudes that died in caves, woods, deserts and exile, of which no computation could be made. The demerits of the Jews, their punishment and the cause of it, seem justly and beautifully intimated in the following lines of Prudentius. Apoth. adv. Jud.

Quid mereare, Titus docuit : docuere rapinis
 Pompeianæ acies : quibus extirpata per omnes
 Terrarum pelagique plagas tua membra feruntur.
 Exiliis vagus huc illuc fluitantibus errat
 Judæus, postquam patriâ de sede revulsus,
 Supplicium pro cæde luit, Christique negati
 Sanguine respersus commista piacula solvit.

What hath been hitherto offered, I trust, may be deemed a sufficient explanation of the true and proper sense of the astonishing prophecy contained in the four last verses. Yet, lest the sense here given should be mistaken, or not duly attended to in this detached

form, I will beg leave to recapitulate it, or to state the sense of the angelic message with all due deference in the following summary ; but previously reminding the reader that the original word rendered *weeks* throughout the prophecy strictly signifies *sevens*, which word is adopted in Purver's translation, and may be referred either to days or years.

Seventy weeks of precision, or precise weeks, remain upon thy people and upon thy holy city Jerusalem, to restrain their rebellion or apostasy from God, and to put an end to sins and expiate iniquity, or to bring to a conclusion their sufferings and the punishment that occasioned them, and to introduce the righteousness of ancient times, and to seal the vision of the prophet Jeremiah, and to restore the religious rites and holy things to their proper uses. This first deliverance from the captivity shall be accomplished within seventy weeks of days ; but this term shall be typical, or a prelude to another more glorious deliverance, which from its commencement to its full and final period shall be comprehended in the same number of sevens or weeks, yet not of days, but of times or years. And this longer period shall be distributed into three portions, of seven weeks, and then of sixty-two weeks, and lastly of one week, each of which will be distinguished by extraordinary events, as the prophecy now proceeds to shew.

For know and understand, this interesting business induces me thus solemnly to recal your attention, that from the passing of an edict to rebuild your city Jerusalem, that had been destroyed by fire, until Messiah the Prince, or from the 20th of Artax. Long. when this edict will be delivered to Nehemiah, till that important hour, when the Messiah shall be offered up, and thereby triumph as a prince over death and hell and all his enemies, shall be seven weeks and three-score and two weeks, or sixty-nine weeks of years : And the term is thus divided because the former part shall be distinguished by the building of the city, which shall be fully completed with its streets and walls in that narrower limit of the times.

Then after the three score and two weeks, or at the passover next following their termination, shall Messiah be cut off by an ignominious death, and a total desertion. Yet though none shall be for him, or he shall be altogether forsaken at that time, his princely authority will still be manifested : for the people of the prince that shall come, or the Roman army in the service of the Messiah, when his business upon earth is completed, and the gospel fully published, shall destroy both the Jewish city and sanctuary ; and they shall come up against it like an inundation, and shall cut down with a

general ruin, and to the end of a war decisive of the nation of the Jews there shall be desolations.

Yet the one week of years that remains to complete the number typified in the former deliverance, this space of seven years shall make firm a covenant of security and protection to many, when those who are in Judea will escape to the mountains; and in the midst of the week the sacrifice and meat-offering, or the whole ritual of the Jewish worship, shall cease: And when upon the borders of the temple, represented by an expanded wing, shall be the abomination of desolation, either the dead bodies of the slain, or the idolatrous ensigns, together with the Roman armies encompassing Jerusalem, then the desolations shall presently follow, and shall continue till a full accomplishment of the decided fate of this devoted people shall be poured upon the desolate, or until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled.

I could offer many useful remarks on this extraordinary prediction, especially by way of inference, but for the sake of brevity I shall confine myself to the three following. In the first place, We may from this interpretation collect a fair reason why the reign of Darius the Mede is taken so much notice of by Daniel, as it seems to have been useful, if not necessary, toward limiting the period alluded to in the former part of this prediction. Secondly; From hence may be deduced a sufficient vindication of the doctrine of a secondary sense belonging to prophecy. Yet those who shall be still unwilling to allow a double sense in prophecy, need not object to this interpretation on that account; for if the secondary or typical sense of ver. 24 be dropped, the interpretation of the latter part of the prediction not necessarily depending upon it, may be complete without it. And thirdly, We see the expediency likewise of generally adhering to the original text, or at least of attempting to correct it with the utmost precaution, and upon the justest principles, as this very difficult passage, according to the sense here given, has required scarce any alteration at all.

Archbp. Secker has enlarged very much on this prophecy; and indeed the whole of his second volume of MS. notes, and a considerable part of the first, are upon this subject. Though the limits I have proposed for my work would not allow me to avail myself in any measure of his observations, yet I will just beg leave to mention here an extract that he has made from a posthumous tract on the weeks, of a Mr. Johnson of Cranbrook, printed at London in 1748. "He concludes (p. 378) that if he had hitherto lived an infidel, the

CHAPTER X.

1 IN the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia, a Reve-

conviction wrought in him by a just consideration of the certain sense and perfect completion of this divine oracle is so full, that he should think it his duty to do and suffer all that human nature, supported with divine grace, could, rather than forfeit his faith."

THIS Chapter contains the preparatory circumstances to the final Revelation that was made to Daniel in the two last Chapters of the Book. The Vision was to be of great extent, and is therefore ushered in with a Preface of considerable length; in which are pointed out the Humiliation of the Prophet, the attention that was paid to it, the appearance of the divine Messenger, the impression it made on Daniel's mind, the Design of the Vision, and the Strength from Heaven with which he was favoured, in order to enable him to comprehend it, with other circumstances relating to the Angels that make the discovery.

1. *In the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia.*—That is, after the death of Darius, or the 72nd year from the commencement of the captivity, the 214th of the ærea of Nabonassar, and the 5th of his reign, according to the canon: Then, as follows in one MS. ידוה רבר "the word of Jehovah was revealed." By this time the prophet must have been at least 90 years of age, and persons have often been favoured with stronger and farther illuminations a little before their deaths, as was the case of Isaac and Jacob, in the Book of Genesis.

The kingdom of Elam, from the son of Shem of that name, was considerable among the nations, in the time of Abraham, under Chedorlaomer, Gen. xiv. 4, 5, and seems to have continued increasing and flourishing afterwards till it was subdued by the united powers of Media and Babylon: By an union with the Medes it recovered this defeat, so as to become the seat of extensive or universal empire under the name of Peres or Persia, in the first year of Cyrus.

lation was made to Daniel, whose name is called Belteshazzar, and the word was certainly true, but the extent great; yet he attended to the word, and had
 2 understanding in the vision. In those days I Daniel
 3 was given up to mourning three weeks of days. I did not eat any delicate food, nor did flesh or wine enter

—*and the word was certainly true, but the extent great.*—Heb. “the word was truth,” רִצְבָּא גְדוֹל. The word רִצְבָּא in its proper signification denotes an army or host of men, and not only the collected troops, but by a metonymy the warfare also in which they are engaged, and the time of that warfare; and as human life may be fitly deemed a warfare, so it is used for the period, or appointed term of man’s life. See Job vii. 1, and xiv. 14. In somewhat like this last sense it may be understood in the passage before us, “the warfare is great,” the arrangement extensive, or the period in which the transactions should be comprehended will be long. But it should be observed that most of the Versions understand the word, as meaning the same with *δυναμις* power or strength, and apply it to the difficulty and arduous reach of understanding that would be necessary to obtain an insight into the vision: which Daniel was favoured with in a considerable degree, as appears from the next clause, and from ver. 14.

2. —*I Daniel was given up to mourning.*—The participle is in Hithpahel, and means “that he greatly afflicted himself.” The reason of it seems in general agreed to be, the interruptions that were made to the building the house of God according to the edict of Cyrus two years before; and that some of his brethren chose rather to continue in the land of their captivity, than go up to Jerusalem to hasten and forward that work.

—*three weeks of days.*—“*Full weeks*” seems more applicable to weeks of years. Weeks of days are the same as weeks of abbreviation, Chap. ix. 24, and the distinction is perhaps more strongly marked in the latter case than in the former. See Gen. xxix. 14. So “a month of days” at Numb. xi. 20. But the Copt. Vers. omits the word “days.”

3. *I did not eat any delicate food.*—Heb. לֶחֶם חֲמִדוֹת “bread of desires,” or “pleasant food,” so the word לֶחֶם is rendered in Agur’s prayer, Prov. xxx. 8. There seem to have been two sorts of fasting among the Jews, either a total abstinence from food of all sorts for at least a whole day, which David observed at the funeral of Abner,

- my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three
 4 weeks of days were completed. And on the twenty
 and fourth day of the first month, when I was on the
 5 bank of the great river, the Hiddekel; Then I lifted up
 mine eyes and looked, and behold a man clothed in

2 Sam. iii. 35, or a partial abstinence from the better kinds of food, which lasted for a considerable time, as in the case before us. The prophet made likewise an alteration in his dress, and did not anoint himself as usual after the eastern manner, 2 Sam. xii. 20, Mat. vi. 17, for the Jews never anointed themselves in times of mourning and humiliation; and there is a precept to this purpose in the Mischna, Cod. Joma, c. 7, §. 1, where on the day of expiation, that great day of humbling the soul, they are interdicted meat and drink, and washing, and anointing.

4. —on the twenty and fourth day of the first month.—Nisan, if the Jewish computation be admitted, that is, the month in which was the Paschal solemnity. Hence commentators have observed from this fact of the prophet, that the Jews did not observe their festivals but in their own country, and in the place which God had appointed: but if the Persian computation should be followed, which seems not improbable, as the prophet dates his vision from the third year of Cyrus the Persian, then the first month will be different. The word “first” is omitted in the Copt.

—*I was on the bank of—the Hiddekel.*—Syr. “the Euphrates;” but Vulg. “the Tigris;” Gr. and Ar. “Tigris-Eddekel:” The Copt. has neither. It was probably near the junction of the two rivers, which was about Seleucia and Ctesiphon, in some part of Susiana, that the prophet was placed. There seems a mistake in the Greek, which is rectified in MS. Pachom. the former has *εγω ημην εχομενα του ποταμου*, the latter for *εχομενα* reads *επι*.

5. —and looked.—Many MSS. read the original full *וַיַּאֲרֶא*, as at ver. 8; and also the word for *girt* *חֲגוּרִים* with *ו*, which seems preferable.

—*behold a man clothed in linen.*—Gr. retains the Heb. word *βადδων*. Syr. “the most magnificent vestments.” LXX. *byssinis*. Who this *אִישׁ אֶזְרָח* or certain person was, we may perhaps be at no loss to determine, if we consider him as described in the attire of the high priest, and compare the passage with Exod. Chap. xxviii. and

linen, whose loins were girt with the fine gold of
 6 Uphaz : Also his body was like the beryl, and his face

xxix. and the description of the Son of man by St. John in the Revelations, c. i. 13. If however he be not the Son of God himself, he was probably an angel of the highest order : But it should seem as if there were several angels, or perhaps the Shechinah, accompanied with one or more angels, that appeared ; as may be collected from ver. 10. and 17.

—*fine gold of Uphaz*.—Vulg. and Syr. render Uphaz as relating to the quality or excellence of the metal, and not as the name of a place ; but two or three MSS. read אֹפִיר, from whence some derive Africa ; and if we compare this place with Jer. x. 9, and the reading of some of the Versions there, which Dr. Blayney has noted, we shall probably be inclined to agree thus far with Bochart and Calmet that Ophir and Uphaz are the same. Bochart indeed thinks that there were two Ophirs, one in Arabia and the other in India, or the island Taprobanes, now Ceylon. Phaleg. lib. 2, p. 161. But others are inclined to place it on the African coast ; and so Origen on Job xxii. 24 observes, that some interpreters will have Sophir or Ophir to be Africa ; and the ancient navigators touched upon it when they sailed from the Red Sea round the Cape of Good Hope, and returned by the Mediterranean. Mr. Bruce thinks Ophir to have been in Abyssinia, where the mines of Sofala now are, and that some part near this coast was called by Eupolemus in Eusebius Ophri, and also that Tarshish was on the same coast, nearer the Arabian Gulf. Vol. i. c. 4. And in the Abyssinian Annals in vol. ii. he finds the name of Tarshish mentioned as one of the petty kingdoms in the neighbourhood of Adel, and which lay directly in the road from the Red Sea to Sofala or Ophir. But see Bp. Lowth on Isa. Chap. ii. 13—16.

6. *Also his body was like the beryl &c.*—That is, cærulean, or sea-green, like the beryl or “chrysolite,” as Aq. and our old Eng. Transl. render ; see Ezek. xxviii. 13. His face was as the appearance of lightning, Mat. xxviii. 3, his eyes as lamps of fire, Rev. iv. 5, his arms and his feet, Gr. has, his legs., Vulg. et quæ deorsum sunt usque ad pedes, וּמִרְגְּלָיו, and from his feet upwards like the eye or glare of polished brass, see Ezek. i. 7, Rev. x. 1, and the voice—as the voice of a multitude ; Syr. like the din of a large host, powerful to instruct and enforce his communications, and to strike all that hear it with astonishment. See Ezek. i. 24, Rev. x. 3, xix. 6.

like the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet as the resplendency of polished brass, and the voice of his words like the
 7 voice of a multitude. Yet I Daniel only saw the vision; for the men that were with me saw not the vision; but great terror fell upon them, so that they
 8 fled into a hiding-place. Thus I Daniel when left alone saw this great vision; but there remained no strength in me, for my vigour was turned upon me
 9 into rottenness, so that I retained no strength. Yet I heard the voice of his words, and when I heard the voice of his words, I sunk down flat in a swoon with
 10 my face towards the ground. When lo! a hand

The Author of the Revelation of St. John Considered, hints that the angel appeared in the habit of the high-priest, to supply the want of the temple-service on the great day of atonement, when the high-priest, after due preparation, on the 10th day of the first month enters into the most holy place, and performs the most awful office in his ministry, p. 433.

8. *Thus I Daniel, when left alone, saw this great vision.*—The words will bear this rendering, and by it a sort of tautology in this and the preceding verse is avoided. I imagine the word כִּרְאָה, translated “vision” in both verses, has some relation to the form or aspect of the angelic appearance. The attendants saw no form, but fled away greatly terrified. See Acts ix. 7, Luke xxiv. 16. The prophet also, as appears from ver. 9, overcome with the sound of his words, fainted, and fell on his face. So at Chap. viii. 18.

10. *When lo! a hand touched me.*—See on ver. 5. The hand that touched him was probably one of the attendant angels; and from Ch. xi. 1 it should seem to have been Gabriel, who spoke what follows. The form of the superior Spirit was scarce visible by Daniel, and therefore it seems likely to have been one of an inferior order, whose hand he could discover as reached out unto him, ver. 18. That the Son of God is seldom introduced to human notice without a retinue of angels, may be learnt from Chap. viii. 15, 16, and xii. 5, Gen. xviii. 2, Zech. Chap. i. ii. iii.

- touched me, and set me up on my knees and the palms
 11 of my hands. Then he said unto me, "O Daniel, a
 man greatly beloved, understand the words which I
 speak unto thee, and stand upright, for unto thee am
 I now sent;" and when he had spoken this word unto
 12 me, I stood up trembling. Wherefore he said unto
 me, "Fear not, Daniel; for from the first day in
 which thou didst set thy heart to get understanding,

—*set me up.*—Heb. "made me to move;" the verb נוע signifies to move in a tottering manner; and the hand that touched him seemed to have gradually restored strength to his joints, and firmness to his feet. At the next verse, the Heb. "stand upon thy standing," where the infinitive mood is used for a noun, means, "stand upright." See Chap. viii. 18, and Nold. p. 554.

12. —*set thy heart to get understanding.*—Or, to gain information. Previous to the communication of this and the last vision, we find the prophet waiting for the reception of the divine intelligence with deep humiliation, and a suitable preparation of mind.

At the ninth Chap. he *inquired* with prayer and supplications; and I rather notice this, as it seems to have been the general mode in which application was made by the ancient prophets, and favourites of heaven, for such information as they wished to obtain from the Lord, for the benefit of his church and people, especially during the times of the captivity. Ezekiel often speaks of inquiries of this kind; and the unpreparedness of the hearts and lives of the Jewish people to make them, is directly asserted by him at Chap. xx. I suspect also that the allusion is to this same point at Chap. xi. 3, where the sense of the original text seems to have been generally mistaken, by a wrong distribution of the letters into words. Instead of—לא בקרוב בנות—, which is scarce capable of a tolerable sense, we should read בתים בנות—לא בקרו בבנות—"Inquire not in building houses." The twenty-five men were the persons who suggested this evil counsel, that they should not inquire of the Lord, or of his Prophet, as to the rebuilding the houses of Jerusalem, but should go on to build without regard to former events; since this city was the caldron, and they the flesh; or they were resolved to partake of all its fates and calamities. The paronomasia in these words is obvious, and rather striking.

and to humble thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come because of thy words.
 13 But the prince of the kingdom of Persia opposed me

—*to humble thyself before thy God.*—Two or three MSS. read יְחֹדֶה אֶלְהִידִּךְ. At Isa. lviii. 3, fasting is the same as afflicting or humbling the soul. “When I wept through the fasting of my life,” at Ps. lxi. 10, is by our translators rendered, “when I wept, and chastened myself with fasting.” The angel intimates, that at the beginning of his prayer and fasting his supplications were heard, and he is now come at his request to give him information from heaven of the state of the Jews and of the world in future times. Gr. “I am come at thy words.”

13. *But the prince of the kingdom of Persia opposed me.*—“Stood before me.” Purver. And so Jun. and Tremel. referring it to an earthly prince. This is thought by some to be either Cyrus or Cambyses, making opposition to the building of the Temple, and becoming hostile to the people of God: But as this is not at all probable, so soon after passing the decree in their favour, so neither could it be properly deemed resisting an angel. Others have thought there is an allusion in this verse, and at ver. 20, to the guardian or tutelary angels of different countries; which doctrine seems countenanced by several passages in Scripture, and especially by Zechar. vi. 5. Grotius is of this opinion; and Bp. Newcome on the last mentioned place refers to the passage before us. Mr. Lowth has treated this matter very fully, and to his note I would refer the reader; he adds also, that others suppose the contest may be between a good and an evil angel, as in Zech. iii. 1, and St. Jude ver. 9. Which latter opinion is perhaps the most just, as there should seem to be no dispute or contest between the ministering spirits of heaven, who are always obedient to the pleasure of their Lord. And when the Almighty sent a superior angel, Michael, whose name is sometimes given to Christ himself, Rev. xii. 7, his office probably was to assist Gabriel in subduing the prince of the power of the air, the powers of this darksome world, or the spirits that rule over the children of disobedience. The opposition was made twenty one days; and as this was exactly the number of days that Daniel fasted, the contest may possibly have some allusion to this struggle. Daniel was certainly highly favoured, and the Almighty, who delights in hearing and answering the prayer of his servants, directs the angel to apologise (if I may so speak) for

- twenty and one days, when lo ! Michael, one of the chief princes came to assist me, so I left him there
 14 amongst the Rulers of Persia : And I came to inform thee what shall happen to thy people in the latter days ; for still the vision is for days.”
 15 Now as he spoke with me according to these words,
 16 I set my face upon the ground and was dumb : When

his delay in attending to the patient solicitations of the Prophet : The angel also is represented as pleading the difficulty of his task, and another higher power or chief in the regal court of heaven favours his business, and comes in to his assistance. In whatever light this is to be understood, it is a strong and affecting, though less gross, instance of the anthropopathia, or of the Deity's accommodating himself and his measures to the manners of men. See de Sacra Poes. Heb. Præl. 16.

—*so I left him.*—The present text is נותרתי, but nine MSS. omit the Vau. Houbigant suggests הותרתי. But as the sense in Niph. is not very different from that in Hiph. I suspect the Vau only is out of its place, and should be at the end of the word. Gr. has και αυτον κατελειπον. The emendation appears so just, and so agreeable to the context both in the next verse, and at verse 20, that I have translated accordingly.

14. —*in the latter days.*—Or, in the latter end of the days. See on Ch. ii. 29, and Numb. xxiv. 14.

—*for still the vision is for days.*—Syr. has “even to the end of the days,” or to the end of time. Vulg. and Gr. “for days.” Three or four MSS. read למועד, which seems a gloss, but perhaps may rightly explain the sense. The forementioned Author of Revelation Considered, refers it to the two thousand three hundred days mentioned in the vision at Chap. viii. 14, a part of which he thinks has been disposed of, or explained, as to the fate of the Jews, in the seventy weeks at the end of the last chapter ; and this will carry on the history in a more general view from the expiration of the Persian monarchy, which was soon to follow, till the end of the time. This sense is ingenious, and I believe so far just, as it relates to the very remote extent of the following vision. Ar. has “for some days,” but I know of no authority for this word, or the word “many,” introduced before “days” in our Eng. Translation. Copt. omits the clause.

- lo! one after the likeness of the Son of man touched my lips; then I opened my mouth in speech, and said unto him that stood before me, "O my Lord, by the vision my distresses are turned upon me, so that I
 17 retain no strength. And how shall the servant of this my Lord be able to speak with that my Lord; for as to me, even now no strength remained in me, neither
 18 was breath left in me." Then there touched me again as it were the form of a man; which strengthened me.
 19 And he said, "Fear not, O man greatly beloved, Peace be unto thee; take courage, and be strong:"

15. —*and was dumb.*—Was struck with silence from terror. This is very strongly intimated in the next verse. See also ver. 9.

16. —*Son of man.*—In the singular. So one MS. Houbigant, and all the Versions in the Polyglots.

—*then I opened my mouth.*—Copt. has, "and he opened." MS. A. drops the clause.

—*my distresses are turned upon me, so that I retain no strength.*—Gr. Ar. and Syr. "my entrails are contracted, or rolled up within me." The word צִירִי means such wreathing pains or throes as are the effect of travail or labour. See Isai. xiii. 8. The agitation was so violent as to exhaust all his strength.

17. —*How shall the servant of this my Lord be able to speak with that my Lord.*—Gr. and Ar. read as in the margin, "how shall this servant;" and then the latter נִי must be the same as talis, or tantus, alluding to the more majestic appearance at ver. 5, but I follow Mr. Lowth, who has pointed out several instances, and might have shewn many more, wherein the pronoun נִי, when doubled, relates to different persons or things. See Nold.

19. *And he said.*—Gr. and Ar. add—*μου.* And he said unto me.

—*Peace be unto thee.*—See Gen. xliii. 23, Judg. vi. 23. Our Lord addresses his disciples in the like form after his resurrection, John xx. 19. And it is used at the beginning of most of the epistles in the New Testament. See on Chap. vi. 21. The words that follow, "take courage and be strong," in the Heb. is a repetition of the same verb. But we read פָּחַד וְאִמָּץ in four or five MSS. of De Rossi's: And Gr. has ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἰσχυε.

And as he talked with me, I was strengthened, then I said, "Let my Lord speak, for thou hast made me strong."

- 20 Wherefore he said, "Knowest thou for what cause I came unto thee? Now presently will I return and contend with the prince of Persia; and when I am
21 gone forth, lo! the prince of Grecia will come. But yet I will declare to thee what is deeply noted in the writing of truth, although there is no one that supported me in these things, but Michael your Prince.

20. —*Knowest thou for what cause I came unto thee?*—Or, "thou knowest for what cause, &c." The angel, having strengthened the prophet, presumes that he also understood the general design of his errand. The Greek is *Εἰ οἶδας*, "surely thou knowest," according to an usual Heb. idiom.

—*Now presently will I return and contend with the prince of Persia.*—With the tutelar angel that belongs to that kingdom, one of the four spirits in Zech. vi. 5. Soon after this contest shall be ended, when I go forth again from the presence of God, another of the spirits, the prince of Grecia, will come. The angel of Persia would plead all that could be offered in her favour; but when the dissolution of her empire was at hand, the power of Grecia would prevail, and the kingdom or dominion be transferred to a prince who should favour the cause of the Church of God. That Alexander favoured the Jews, see Joseph. Ant. l. xi. near the end.

21. —*in the writing of truth.*—So Ps. lvi. 8, Isai. lxxv. 6, and Mal. iii. 16. The design of the metaphor is obvious, and the decrees are meant as irrevocable. The whole argument will be weighed on all sides, but what follows will be the final result. The prophet uses a like expression at the first verse of this chapter, and again at Chap. xi. 2, where "the truth" seems opposed to the figures or symbols that had been used in the visions of the preceding parts of the book.

—*Michael your Prince.*—This shews in what sense the word *prince* is to be understood in the preceding parts of the chapter, and to what order of beings it is to be applied. Michael and Gabriel were probably the tutelary angels of the Jews, and would be their only protectors in the various contests for empire till the coming of Christ. These names do not occur in any books of the Old Testament that

CHAPTER XI.

1 Also I in the first year of Darius the Mede stood to

were written before the captivity : and it is suggested by some that they were borrowed from the Chaldeans, with whom and the Persians the doctrine of the general administration and superintendence of angels over empires and provinces was commonly received. Castell mentions the names of four that were said to stand around the throne of God, Michael, Uriel, Gabriel, and Raphael ; two only of which seem to be named in Scripture. But whatever may be determined concerning their names, it is certain, from various passages of the Old Testament, that ministering spirits continually attend upon the service of God, and execute the divine commands. In the two last verses these blessed spirits appear to have been intended. We know, and can know, no more of the offices or employments of these celestial agents than what is revealed to us, and therefore it is in vain to indulge conjecture. In general we may conclude, that they will be favourable or unfavourable to any nation or people according to their deserts ; and that all things, and all powers, will work together for good to those that fear and love God.

THIS and the following Chapter contain the substance of Daniel's last Vision, or a series of Prophetical Story from the third year of Cyrus to the end of time. The Dominion is soon made to pass from the Persians to the Grecians ; the State of the Greek Empire is continued through various Changes and Revolutions, and particularly with respect to Syria and Egypt, till at length it yields to the Romans. Several particulars afterwards follow that must relate to the fate of the Church of Christ ; and the last Chapter has a peculiar respect unto the time of the end, to the end of all Prophecy, or to the grand consummation of all things.

1. *Also I in the first year of Darius the Mede stood to confirm and to strengthen him.*—Syr. joins the word וַאֲנִי with the preceding verse, thereby transferring to that verse the pleonasm of the affix in

2 confirm and to strengthen him: And now I will declare to thee the truth.

Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in

this. For this sort of pleonasm, see Chap. vii. 15, 28, and Chap. viii.

1. But some would connect the whole verse with the close of the last chapter, and with good reason too, as it doubtless relates to the joint employment in which the same heavenly missionaries were engaged. Gr. Ar. and perhaps Vulg. omit the pronoun וְ at the end; and Syr. and one MS. read וְ , intimating that Michael assisted Gabriel at that time also: But the present reading is capable of a good sense, whether we understand the pronoun וְ to relate to Michael or Darius. The Author of the Revelation of St. John Considered would translate, "to confirm and strengthen *it*," and produces instances wherein the pronoun וְ is so rendered, and thus would refer it to the writing of truth, whereof the vision of the seventy weeks is a part. But in this case what was Gabriel to confirm and strengthen? The Scripture of truth, or the Word of God? There seems no need of the strength of an angel to support this. As there is a little variation in the MSS. and more in the Versions, I am almost tempted to suspect the true reading was וְכֵן , and that we should render thus, "Moreover as I in the first year of Darius the Mede stood to confirm and strengthen *thee* (the prophet), so now I will declare to thee the truth: Behold there are yet three kings to stand up in Persia, and a fourth that shall be enriched above all."

Gr. and Ar. read, in the first year of *Cyrus the king*; meaning most probably the first of his nine years according to the canon, or the same with the first of Darius, at Chap. ix. 1. And to Daniel's conflict and ardent prayer at that time, and the success that followed it, the angel seems to allude: In the establishment of Darius, as well as at the present season, both Michael and Gabriel were friendly to the cause of the Jews.

2. — *Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia.*—According to the Canon there were nine kings of the Persian empire from Cyrus to Codomannus, besides others who, falling within a year, are not therein mentioned. Interpreters have differed therefore in pointing out the kings that are here meant, or in fixing the commencement of the Scripture of truth. But as the vision was revealed to Daniel in the third year of Cyrus, it is most natural to trace its beginning

Persia ; and the fourth shall be enriched with abundant

from that time ; and then the three kings *yet* to stand up, or after the then reigning monarch, will be Cambyzes or the Ahasuerus, and Smerdis or the Artaxerxes* of Ezra (Chap. iv. 6, 7), and Darius Hystaspes ; the second of whom, being a Magian usurper that reigned scarce eight months according to Herodotus, is not in the Canon.

—*and the fourth shall be enriched, &c.*—This is Xerxes, the successor of Hystaspes, who had inherited great riches from his father, according to Æschylus, and had amassed much more. Many great and rich provinces, as India, Thrace, Macedonia, and the Islands of the Ionian sea, were added by Darius to the Persian empire. Xerxes had himself subdued Egypt, and was desirous of extending his conquests, and enlarging his fame. He therefore collected a very large army, with which he designed to subdue the whole realm of Javan or Greece, and to reduce all Europe under his dominion. His army amounted to more than five millions, according to Herodotus, and according to other writers his forces were much greater. “When he is thus become strong” (11 or 12 of Kenn.’s MSS. and many of De Rossi’s read the original word with Beth instead of Caph) “he shall raise up the whole against the realm of Greece.” יַעֲרִיחַכֹּל, the participle רָא that follows is omitted by one MS. and the Gr. has *επαναστησεται πασαις βασιλειαῖς Ἑλλήνων*, “He shall rise up over all the kingdoms of the Greeks.” Syr. reads, “heshall stirupall thekingdomsof theGreeks,” some of which were subject to him, others ready to assist him, and Lacedemon and Athens were the chief that opposed him. But still the former rendering seems preferable, as his forces were collected from all quarters, and many millions passed the Hellespont when he led his army into Greece. And this expedition seems to have been the source of that irreconcilable enmity between the states of Greece and Persia, which finally terminated in the overthrow of the latter under Alexander, to which the vision immediately proceeds. A farther reason may perhaps be assigned why these kings of Persia only are mentioned, because they were all that should reign before Artaxerxes Longimanus, by whom the decree was issued, according to the prophecy of the seventy weeks, for the rebuilding Jerusalem.

* So Prid. Con. p. i. b. 3, but there is a considerable diversity of opinion concerning these names.

- wealth above all; and when he is grown strong through his wealth, he shall raise up the whole against the realm of Grecia. But a mighty king shall stand up, and rule with extensive dominion, and do according to his pleasure. Yet when he shall be established, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be distributed

3. *But a mighty king shall stand up.*—The angel at the last verse has just mentioned the kingdom of Ion or Greece, and thence takes occasion to introduce its first monarch and conqueror, Alexander the Great. Enough of the affairs of Persia had been recited for the purpose of prophecy, and historical exactness was not wanted. For the rapidity and success of Alexander's conquests, see on Chap. vii. 6, and viii. 5, 6. This passage, and that just referred to at Chap. viii. were supposed to be shewn by the high-priest Jaddus to Alexander as he was entering Jerusalem. See the Prelim. Dissert.

4. *Yet when he shall be established, his kingdom shall be broken.*—Many MSS. and some Editions read the first word בעמר with Beth instead of Caph; and so Syr. But the sense seems rather to require the present reading, as the kingdom was not broken or divided till after the death of Alexander; yet still his death was sudden, and when he was just at the height of his successes, εν ακμη, בעמר, cum steterit, Vulg. and so Gr. ως αν στη η βασιλεια αυτου. For the four generals that succeeded him, and their situation, or bearings of their jurisdiction to Macedonia or Greece, see on Chap. viii. 8. As the empire was divided within a few years after the death of Alexander, the power of the lesser princes or generals was certainly far inferior to his; that they excluded his sons and relations is well known; and moreover the kingdom or empire was as it were torn or plucked up, Heb. תנורש. Gr. εκτιλησεται, forced from his family, distracted by intestine convulsions, and divided among several inferior leaders, besides those that partook each of a fourth share. “Atque ita maximum in terris Macedonum regnum nomenque, inde a morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna est.” Tit. Liv. lib. xlv. These considerations will furnish an explanation for the latter part of the verse; and whoever would wish for more full information on this subject, may consult Arrian, Curtius and Justin, with the other historians, or Dr. Prideaux Con. p. i. b. 8, the Bp. of Bristol's 16th Dissert. and the Univ. History.

towards the four winds of heaven, yet not to his posterity, nor according to the sway with which he ruled; for his kingdom shall be torn up, and be for
 5 others beside those. Then shall the king of the south, that is, one of his princes, be strong, yet shall another

5. *Then shall the king of the south, that is, one of his princes, be strong.*—Meaning one of Alexander's princes; ומן שריו: Two MSS. omit the ו before מ; if it be retained, it must be only explanatory, as at Chap. iv. 10, and elsewhere. Though the empire was divided among four, the prophecy has no farther concern but with two, and these as they lay north and south of Judea; the design being to shew the Jews "what should happen in the latter days." The kings of Syria and Egypt therefore will be the only powers of Greece that will claim our attention in the farther parts of the angel's narrative.

Ptolemy, son of Lagus, called Soter, the first king of Egypt, and the first founder of the famous library at Alexandria, had very large possessions: His dominion extended over Libya, Cyrene, Palestine, Cyprus, some Grecian islands and Asiatic provinces: His wealth and strength are celebrated by Theocritus in one of his Idyls, and by Appian the historian. But his kingdom, however great, was considerably inferior to that of another of his princes, Seleucus Nicator, or the Conqueror; who enjoyed not only Syria, and some countries to the north-east of it, but extended his conquests over Asia, beyond the river Indus, built Seleucia on the Tigris, and many other very considerable cities in India, Scythia, Armenia, and various parts of his wide dominions, and was the greatest of all Alexander's successors. He was also, according to Appian, de Bell. Syr. §. 124, a person of such great strength, that laying hold of a bull by the horn he could stop him in his full career; the statuaries for this reason made his statues with two bull's horns on his head; and from hence Prideaux thinks, the æra of the Seleucidæ was called in Arabic Dilearnain, or the two-horned, having derived its origin from this prince. It is in the books of the Maccabees called "the æra of the kingdom of the Greeks," and both books compute by it. See Prid. ubi supra.

At the conclusion of this verse MS. Pachom. has the words *εκτος εξουσιας αυτου*, which seem a translation of the last word ממשלתו, "and shall have a large dominion, beside his proper authority," in allusion to his great conquests: This is a good sense.

6 exceed him in strength, and have dominion, a large dominion will his dominion be. And after some years they shall be united; for the daughter of the king of the south shall come to the king of the north to make alliances; but the arm shall not retain strength, neither shall the offspring thereof be established; but she shall

About this time lived Megasthenes, the historian of India, and also Berosus the Babylonian historian, part of whose works are transmitted to our times by Josephus and Eusebius, but the books themselves are extinct; the fragments contain many valuable illustrations of passages in Daniel, and the other writings of the Old Testament.

6. *And after some years they shall be united.*—The ancient Bodl. MS. reads the first word וּבְקֶץ with ב instead of ל, “And in the end of years.” Gr. and Ar. seem to have found in their copies שְׁנֵי, “of his years,” after the death of Seleucus; for the union was made by the successors of the two kings, between Antiochus Theus, the grandson of Seleucus, and Ptolemy Philadelphus the son of Soter.

—*for the daughter of the king of the south shall come to the king of the north to make alliances.*—Heb. מִישְׁרִים “rectitudines,” conditions of agreement; Gr. συνθηκας. Antiochus divorced his former wife Laodice, and married Berenice the daughter of Philadelphus, by whom he had a son.

—*but the arm shall not retain strength.*—Antiochus had great riches with Ptolemy’s daughter, and from thence came a great acquisition of power, metaphorically represented by an arm; see Cast. Lex. But this arm could not retain its strength (I prefer this rendering, which the words will bear); For he afterwards recalled Laodice with her sons, upon the death of Ptolemy; and she contrived to poison her husband, and fix her son Callinicus on the throne, to the exclusion of Berenice and her son, whom she caused to be murdered, together with her partisans, and all that adhered to her cause.

—*neither shall the offspring thereof be established.*—One MS. reads וְהָיָה, another omits the Vau before the noun, and a third has יַעֲמֹד, which last I take to be the true reading, and is confirmed by Gr. and Vulg. and the alteration is easy, as the ו has only changed its place, it ought to be before ה, instead of after it. I follow the marginal reading and the Versions in rendering הַלְדָּה “her son,”

be delivered up with her attendants and her son, and whosoever supports her at the times.

- 7 Yet there shall stand up a shoot from her roots on its base, that shall come with an army, and shall enter

or he whom she brought forth, as the father seems to have died before the divorce of his daughter.

7. *Yet there shall stand up a shoot from her roots on its base.*— Instead of מנצר שרשיה, the מ should be prefixed to the latter word, thus, מנצר משרשיה. φυτόν εκ της ριζης αυτου. Cod. Chis. Whoever considers a little the words and the sense, will readily admit this easy alteration. MS. Pachom. reads επι της ετοιμασιας αυτου, and thereby supplies the preposition על before בנו as at ver. 20, but על is sometimes omitted before its noun, as may appear from comparing Ps. iii. 8, with 2 Chron. xviii. 23. See Nold. p. 561. Berenice was the daughter of Philadelphus, from whom also descended her brother Ptolemy Euergetes, who was the shoot here alluded to: He came with a great army into Syria to avenge his sister's quarrel: He ravaged Syria and Cilicia, the upper parts beyond the Euphrates and almost all Asia, carrying away with him great plunder and the images of the gods which Cambyzes had before taken from Egypt, as the next verse relates, and from hence was called Euergetes. Polybius, lib. v. observes, that he took the city Seleucia, which was kept for some years after by the garrisons of the Kings of Egypt, and Justin gives us to understand, that all the fortified cities that had revolted surrendered to him, lib. xxvii. 1, which may serve to explain the expression in this verse, ויעשה בהם, "and shall work on them," the fortified cities, or shall apply them to his own use. Gr. has ποιησει εν αυτοις. Houbigant suggests, that we should read just before, במעווי in the plural, because of the pronoun בהם, but if the noun is considered as a sing. collective, no alteration may be wanted. Archbp. Usher observes from Josephus, cont. Ap. that after Ptolemy had obtained all Syria, he came to Jerusalem, and there offered many eucharistic sacrifices to God, and dedicated some presents suitable to his victory: and from hence we may collect a sufficient reason why he obtains a part in the Angel's Narrative, as it may in general be observed that the history of the Jews is interwoven throughout the whole of it. See Jerom and Lowth's Comments, Usher's Annals, Prid. Conn. and

- upon the fortifications of the king of the north, and
 8 shall work on them, and prevail. And also their gods,
 even their molten images, together with their precious
 vessels of silver and of gold, shall he carry with the
 captivity to Egypt, and he shall be established for
 9 years above the king of the north. Thus when the
 king of the south hath invaded the kingdom, he shall
 return into his own land.

Bishop Newton's Dissert. from a comparison of which, and other writers on this subject with each other, and with the original historians, the historical part of these Notes is selected.

8. *And also their gods, even their molten images.*—One MS. has not the preposition עַם; two read וְגַם, and one has a Vau before נִסְבֵּיהֶם “their molten images,” which seems the best reading; see on ver. 5. Six MSS. have Vau before the עַם that follows. Syr. for שָׁנִים “years” near the end of the verse has דְּרִיזִין duplo. Calmet observes, that there was an ancient marble in honour of Euergetes, of which an inscription was published by Allatius at Rome, in 1631, recording the circumstance mentioned in this verse, *Sacris, quæ ab Ægypto Persæ abstulerant, receptis, ac cum reliquâ congestâ gazâ in Ægyptum relatis.*

8, 9.—*and he shall be established for years above the king of the north. Thus when the king of the south hath invaded the kingdom, he shall return into his own land.*—I am inclined to suspect that this latter part of ver. 8 should follow ver. 9, by which means the connection would be much more natural and easy at ver. 10. “But his sons shall engage, &c.” Yet one MS. dropping the latter part of ver. 9, seems to read in this sense, “And he shall be established for years above the King of the North, after he hath invaded the kingdom.”

Ptolemy Euergetes returned with great triumph into Egypt, having brought back 40,000 talents of silver, beside 2,500 images, and outlived Seleucus Callinicus four years. It was this Prince that was the friend and patron of the very learned philosopher Eratosthenes, who was invited by him to Alexandria, and made keeper of his library there; which library is said to have been finally destroyed after the conquest of the Saracens by the Caliph Omar, to the eternal disgrace of that

10 But his sons shall engage in the war, and shall collect

sophistical fanatic, and to the very great injury of literature. Eratosthenes was born at Cyrene, a province of Africa, on the confines of Egypt, and from hence, according to Suidas, was called Cyrenæus. He studied at Athens, and was skilled in almost every sort of learning, but especially in Chronology. There is a work of his which Bishop Cumberland very highly and justly commends, a kind of Laterculus or Series of the Kings of Thebes or Diospolis, in that Nome or province of Upper Egypt, still called the Thebaid; which he collected from the best authorities, and which comes down to us supported with all the evidence of its authenticity which can reasonably be expected. This canon is a continuation of the famous fragment of Sanconiathe, which begins with Protogonus or Adam, and ends with Thoth the great Hermes of the Egyptians in the kingdom of Egypt. From thence Eratosthenes has taken it up, and supplied the Kings that followed to the siege of Troy, and Dicæarchus, a learned historian, contemporary with Aristotle, has observed, that from Nilus the last but one of those Kings were only 436 years to the first Olympiad;* that is, to the year of the Julian period 3938 or 776 years before the birth of Christ. A table of these kings may be seen in Bishop Cumberland's Continuation of the Phœnician history; and the whole of this period from the creation to the Olympiads very nearly agrees, as that prelate hath shewn, with the Scripture account; so that the chronology of the Bible is by this means established by corresponding records in the Pagan world.

10. *But his sons shall engage in the war.*—Very many MSS. and some Editions read with Keri יבניו, and also ויתגורו near the end of the verse, instead of the plural יתגורו. In the former case the noun must be plural to agree with the plural verbs; in the latter (which is plainly a mistake copied from the former part of the verse) one person only is alluded to, and the rest of the verbs belonging to it are singular. The two sons of Seleucus, the king of the North, were Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus the Great, who both engaged in the war with large forces to recover their paternal territories from Ptolemy; but after the death of Ceraunus by poison, Antiochus alone like an inundation invaded and over-ran the dominions of the king of Egypt, Euergetes being dead, and his son Philopator on the throne. After he

a multitude of large forces; and one shall advance with rapidity, and overflow and pass through, and shall again be engaged in the war even at his fortress.

- 11 Whereupon the king of the south shall be greatly exasperated, and shall go forth and contend in battle with the king of the north; and though he shall set in array a large multitude, the multitude shall be delivered into his hand. When having taken away the
- 12

had met with great success in his attempts on the provinces belonging to this effeminate and indolent prince, he returned into Syria, put his army into winter quarters at Ptolemais, and in the following spring passed through Palestine, &c. and made an attack on Raphia, a strong fortified town near the borders of Egypt, thus engaging again in war even on the frontiers. Polyb. lib. v. Keri and four or five MSS. read the last word מעון with the affix ו instead of ת; but there is no need of an alteration, as the latter may be the Chaldee masc. affix, which is often used for the Hebrew.

11. *Whereupon the king of the south shall be greatly exasperated.*—The Gr. has *αγριανθησεται*, “shall be made wild or frantic,” at the successes of Antiochus, and the revolt of his friends; and hence shall contend in battle with him, עמו: One MS. drops this word, and another the עמ that follows; but both may be retained by an usual pleonasm. The armies of Philopator and Antiochus were each very large: but the turn of the sentence inclines us to understand the great multitude to be that which was delivered up, or the army of Antiochus, consisting of 62,000 foot, 6,000 horse, and 102 elephants, Polyb. lib. v. p. 421, Ed. Casaub. at Paris; yet Ptolemy’s forces were greater viz. 70,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and 73 elephants. A memorable battle was fought near Raphia, the first city in Coelosyria from Egypt after Rhinocorura, wherein Ptolemy was successful, and Antiochus lost great numbers, and retreating with his shattered forces was obliged to sue for peace. Antiochus petitioning for a truce to bury the dead found wanting near 10,000 foot, more than 300 horse, and 4,000 were taken prisoners; Ptolemy’s loss was far less considerable. The whole history of the battle and of the loss on both sides is stated exactly by Polybius in the passage above cited.

multitude his heart shall be elated; wherefore though he shall lay prostrate ten thousands, he shall not

12. *When having taken away the multitude, his heart shall be elated.*—Many MSS. read with the Masora ורם for ירם, which seems a good reading; but if we compare it with the last verb in the verse, and consider נש as a participle, the present text will probably be preferable. Ptolemy, after he had slain great multitudes, (Heb. “myriads”) did not pursue his victory, but made a peace with Antiochus, on the latter yielding to him Coelosyria, or that part of Syria that lay between the mountains Libanus and Anti-libanus, and Palestine, or the former inheritance of the tribes of Israel: And this he did that he might return to his former vicious courses, yielding himself up to the most licentious prostitution, and the entire gratification of his lawless passions. The Jews during these wars suffered very much from both parties, and especially from Ptolemy after his victory. In his resentment 40,000 Jews were slain, by all which havoc of his own subjects, however he was elated, yet his strength must be much impaired. Indeed his own people, or the Egyptians, were much dissatisfied with his conduct, and the disorders arising therefrom soon broke out into a rebellion.

The Authors of the Univ. Hist. vol. ix. p. 220, give us the following account of the cause of his indignation against the Jews from Polybius, and the third book of the Maccabees. After his victory he visited the states and cities that he had conquered, and among the rest Jerusalem, where he took a view of the temple, and even offered sacrifices, &c. to the God of Israel. But not being satisfied with viewing it only from the outer court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to pass, he shewed a great inclination to enter the sanctuary, and even the holy of holies itself. This occasioned a great uproar all over the city; the high priest informed him of the holiness of the place, and the express law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. But every sort of opposition only serving to inflame his curiosity, he forced in as far as the second court, where while he was preparing to enter the temple itself, he was struck by God with such terror, that he was carried off half dead. On this he left the city, highly exasperated against the whole Jewish nation, and loudly threatening future vengeance.

- 13 prevail. For the king of the north shall return, and set in array a multitude larger than the former, and at the end of the times, the years, he shall come speedily
 14 with a great army and with abundant wealth. And at those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south, also the perverse sons of thy people shall exalt themselves, to establish the vision, but they shall

13. *For the king of the north shall return, and set in array a multitude.*—Antiochus some years after returned with a much greater army, having put an end to the Asiatic war in which he had been engaged; and after Ptolemy's death took advantage of the infancy of his son, called Epiphanes, to recover his lost provinces, engaging Philip king of Macedon in his interest, and bringing with him great supplies of forces, according to Appian and Jerom, from the East; to which the latter part of the verse seems to allude; יבוא בוא "he shall come with speed" or certainty, "at the end of the times, the years;" the word שנים seems added to העתים evidently by way of explanation, and may serve therefore, as we have already noted, to show the sense of "the times" in the other parts of this book. It was not till near fourteen years after the peace, that Antiochus renewed the war, after he had, by his martial exploits against the Medes, Parthians, and others, acquired a distinguished reputation throughout Asia and Europe, toward which latter country he seems to have intended to turn his arms.

14. *And at those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south.*—Not only Egypt itself was rebellious, but the provinces that before were subject to it seem to have revolted; Philip had entered into a league with Antiochus, and the Jews themselves favoured his cause. For there were great occasions of discontent in Egypt, the favourites of the late king having usurped the sovereignty, and the people perceiving their artifices, had put the regent Agathocles and his nearest relations to death: Scopas likewise attempted to seize the kingdom for himself.

—also the perverse sons of thy people shall exalt themselves, to establish the vision.—Heb. וְבָנֵי פְרִיצֵי עֵמֶךְ—Gr. οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν λοιμῶν τοῦ λαοῦ σου, "the pestilent sons of thy people." The word פֶּרֶץ

- 15 fall. For the king of the north shall come, and cast up a rampart, and take the fortified cities, even the arms of the south, neither shall the people of his fortifications resist, for there shall be no strength to resist.
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signifies to "break away," or "to revolt." 1 Sam. xxv. 10. Some would apply the passage to the Samaritans, or the descendants of those nations, which Asnapper had placed in Samaria on the removal of the ten tribes, who joined themselves to Antiochus; but it seems rather to relate to those factious Jews who had apostatized from the law of God, and by their disobedience and refractory spirits would serve to establish this vision, to accomplish the designs of Providence, who makes the wickedness of man turn to his praise. Or it may mean their revolt from their allegiance to Ptolemy, under pretence of fulfilling the sentence which God had denounced against the profaners of their temple, but in fact to gratify their resentment and pride. However their designs did not succeed, for Scopas reduced the revolted cities to their obedience, placed a garrison in Jerusalem, and returned with great spoils: After which, when Antiochus recovered Jerusalem, he punished the prevaricators, as the word is rendered by Vulg. although he rewarded the rest of the Jews that willingly received him.

15. *For the king of the north shall come, and shall cast up a rampart, and take the fortified cities, even the arms of the south.*—After the success of Scopas, Ptolemy's general Antiochus returned to give him war; in an engagement the latter was victorious, and Scopas was pursued to Sidon, where he was shut up with 10,000 men, and closely besieged with regular works; for it is observable that the word סללה may either signify the mount or rampart, or the missive weapons or engines that are used in a blockade: See 2 Kings xix. 32. Jerem. xxxii. 24. The fortifications of Sidon were very strong, but after a considerable siege were obliged to yield; and, together with other fenced cities in Cœlosyria, according to Livy, lib. xxxiii. § 23, in Samaria, according to Josephus, xii. 3, and on the borders of Egypt, according to Appian, surrendered to Antiochus. Sidon, Gaza, and the other fortified cities or frontier towns, I take to be meant by "the arms of the south," and he soon made himself master of all.

—*neither shall the people of his fortifications resist.*—One MS.

- 16 Also when he that cometh shall have done unto him according to his will, neither shall any one resist him, then shall he stand in the land of Glory, which shall be finished by his hand.

reads the first word ולא, five read יעמודו and two have מבצרי; now the present text stands thus, לא יעמדו ועם מבצרי, which I conceive, on the authority of the MSS. ought to be altered thus, לא יעמודו ועם מבצרי. The Versions labour, yet assist but little: The alteration I propose changes but one letter, though it alters the arrangement of another. For the copulative ו being found in the middle of the clause, see on ver. 22. Or we may read with the MSS. ולא יעמודו. The cities were taken by storm, and there seems but little resistance to have been made after the surrender of Sidon; and even here the terms of capitulation were hard, and Scopas and the generals were sent away stript and naked. If this alteration be not admitted, we must understand עם מבצרי to mean some of the chosen forces, the *delecti milites*, of Ptolemy, sent under his best commanders to the assistance of Scopas.

16. *Also when he that cometh shall have done unto him, &c.—then shall he stand in the land of Glory.*—After Antiochus had completed his victories over Ptolemy, he was willingly received by the Jews, or in the land of Tzabi. So Gr. *σαβει*. Copt. Sabir. But LXX. in Bahrđt has *ἐν τη γη θελησεως*. We find the like expression at Chap. viii. 9, which see, and again at ver. 41 of this chapter. See also 2 Sam. i. 19, and Jer. iii. 19, with Mr. Lowth's note upon it. The next word in this verse וכלה has different significations: Some of the Versions render, "and it shall be consumed in, or by, his hand," intimating that Judea would be ravaged and suffer very much in the contests between the two kings, as it lay between the dominions of both: but the words may rather be rendered, "and there shall be a completion by his hand;" that is, the troubles of Judea should for a time at least have an end, and the land be restored to a more flourishing state by his favour: and Josephus informs us, that Antiochus made a decree, that the Jews should enjoy many immunities, should live according to their own rites and laws, and that the work of the temple should be finished: *απαρτισθηναι*, which is a word of like import with כללה, and may correspond with *τελεσθησεται* of Th.

- 17 Moreover he shall form a design to invade with obstinate perseverance his whole kingdom, and proposals of alliance shall be with him, wherein he shall succeed; but though he shall give the chief of women to him, to make her corrupt, yet she shall not persist, nor be for him. Afterwards shall he turn his face to the maritime towns, and shall take many; but a

17. *Moreover he shall form a design to invade with obstinate perseverance his whole kingdom.*—Egypt. The word בתקה properly signifies “with strength;” but it also denotes that urgent and persevering resistance which is proof against all obstructions: and thus Antiochus endeavoured by craft and pertinacious stratagem to obtain those ends, which the variety of opponents he had to contend with would not suffer him to accomplish by mere force. But the words *may* be rendered, “to invade with the strength of his whole kingdom,” that is, of Syria, or with all his forces: And so Gr.

—*and proposals of alliance shall be with him, wherein he shall succeed.*—The word ישרים is probably of the same import with מישרים at ver. 6, and are both from the verb ישר “rectum, æquum fuit.” Cast. Lex. Matrimonial proposals were offered by Antiochus between his daughter Cleopatra and the young king Ptolemy, now about sixteen years of age, and accepted at Raphia. This lady, on account of her quality, and beauty or youth, is called “the daughter of women,” בת יפת הנשים Houbigant. Antiochus suspected she would be subservient to his crafty designs and deep laid schemes, thus hoping to make her corrupt; but the event proved otherwise, for she was true to her husband, to the disappointment of her father. Mich. from LXX. Th. Vulg. and one MS. suggests that we should read וישרים עמו ועשה, instead of ועשה. Suppl. p. 1182. The alteration is easy, and perhaps just: And thus we should render, “and he shall make covenants of alliance with him.”

18. *Afterwards shall he turn his face to the maritime towns.*—The word איים sometimes signifies islands, and if thus rendered will furnish a good sense at Isai. xlii. 15, notwithstanding great authorities suggest an alteration, and would read ציים dry deserts: “I will make the rivers islands;” their waters shall be so far exhausted, as to

General shall cause to cease his reproach against him, and beside shall make his reproach to return
 19 upon himself. For he shall turn his face to the fortresses of his own land, and shall stumble and fall, and shall not be found.

leave only small channels, and the land shall stand out above them in most places. Then it follows in a natural climax, "And I will dry or scorch up the pools."—But this word is also well known to signify not merely islands, but cities or territories on the sea coasts. Antiochus attempted not only the Grecian islands, but several towns on the coast, and seemed to aspire after a considerable part of the country between him and the Romans; which roused their jealousy, and induced them to send not only a large fleet against his, but a great army also, under the command of their general Lucius Scipio, who obtained a decisive victory over him near Magnesia under Mount Sipylus. This was attended with very humiliating circumstances, a great loss of men, a necessary solicitation for peace, the giving up all Asia on this side Mount Taurus, engaging not to set foot again in Europe, the payment of the expences of the war, and a large annual tribute: For the performance of which articles hostages were sent to Rome, one of which was his own son, afterwards called Epiphanes. Thus was the reproach he had offered to the Roman power removed and converted into a far greater upon himself. Or the expression may mean, "so that he shall never be able to return the reproach upon him." The conjunction בלתי is capable of either sense, but the former seems best, and most agreeable to the Versions.

19. *For he shall turn his face to the fortresses of his own land.*—The word מעוני is plural, and meant to insinuate that he should return to some of his fortified towns in Syria; and we find that after the defeat he retired to Antioch, and from thence to other distant cities in his kingdom; and at length having formed a design of plundering some of his eastern provinces, he was slain by the multitude at Elymais, as he was seizing the vast treasures of one of their temples; Thus by his imprudence and sacrilege he fell, and was found no more in Syria.

There were probably two rich temples in Elymais, one this of

20 Then shall stand up on his base one that shall send forth an exactor of the glory of the kingdom; but

Jupiter Belus, and the other that of Diana, which is mentioned by Josephus, Ant. xii. 13, by Appian in Syriacis, who calls it the Temple of the Elymæan Venus, and by Sulpicius, lib. ii. and Jerom on Daniel. It was the latter that Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to plunder, and was opposed by the multitude, and put to flight a little before his death; see 1 Mac. vi. Aurelius Victor gives a different account of the death of *this* monarch, but agrees in this, that it was premature, and not in Syria. It is observable also, that during the reign of Antiochus the Great, the Romans began to extend their conquests in the East, and they are by his means imperceptibly, as it were, introduced into the narration, of which they make so considerable a part in the sequel. This prince in many instances favoured the Jews, yet during the whole of his wars was generally the occasion of great distresses among them; and hence we have so long an account of him, from the 10th verse to the 19th. "They are as it were the outlines of Antiochus's picture, and as they resemble none but him, we cannot imagine that they were drawn undesignedly." Univ. Hist. Vol. ix. p. 273. Note.

20. *Then shall stand up on his base one that shall send forth an exactor, &c.*—Heb. על כנו, "on his base or bottom;" from כון to fit exactly, to dispose. Vulg. "shall stand in his place," or, as I have rendered it at the next verse, "shall succeed him." I have varied the expression, lest the repetition should sound harsh or offensive, though I wished to retain it in the first instance, as expressive of the literal sense of the Hebrew. Seleucus Philopator succeeded his father Antiochus, whose chief business was to raise the tribute of a thousand talents for the Romans; and after he had done this till the last of the twelve years for which it was exacted, and had sent also his treasurer Heliodorus to plunder the Temple at Jerusalem, the glory of the kingdom, he was cut off by the same Heliodorus, and dispatched secretly by poison, without any intestine tumult or open war, after he had reigned but a few, or not more than eleven, years. The original is בימים אחרים "in a few days," or suddenly: Or, rather, "within one year," as the word ימים often signifies "a year." See Buxt. Lex. and also Gen. xxvii. 44, xxix. 20, and Lev. xxv. 29.

within a few days he shall be destroyed, yet not in anger, nor in battle.

- 21 And there shall succeed him a contemptible person, on whom they shall not confer the royal dignity, but he shall come in privily, and secure the kingdom by
22 flatteries. Yet the arms of the overflowing land shall be overflown from before him, and shall be broken;

The adjective seems expressly to limit it to this period; and thus it must refer to the sending forth his exactor, or within a year from plundering the temple; the Divine Providence thus making his sacrilege to recoil upon himself. We still see the history of the Jews, or rather of the Church of God, continually adverted to.

—*not in anger.*—Copt. has “not in arms,” or with arms. I suspect the original, instead of גַּאֲזָאִים, was גַּאֲזָאִים; This is a good sense.

21. *And there shall succeed him a contemptible person.*—The scheme of Heliodorus was frustrated by Antiochus, the brother and successor of Seleucus, who returning from Rome, and having his brother's son sent thither in his stead, usurped the crown in his absence on the murder of his father, and on this and many other accounts is deservedly reckoned contemptible, though called Epiphanes or Illustrious, from the usual sarcasm of the times; thus one inglorious monarch was called Callinicus, and another profligate one, Philopator. This unprincipled and artful prince, the whole series of whose life, according to the historians*, shews that he deserved the character here given him by the Prophet, availing himself of the sudden confusion of affairs, though not the right heir to the crown, nor intitled to, or regularly invested with, the honour of the kingdom, yet by promises of friendship and assistance to neighbouring potentates, and crafty insinuations of advantage and clemency to the Syrians, obtained their concurrence, and seated himself securely on the throne of Syria.

22. *Yet the arms of the overflowing land shall be overflown from before*

* See the fragments of Polybius, from lib. xxvi. by Athenæus, where is a long account of the mad frolics of this worthless prince; and also Prid. Con. p. ii. b. 3.

23 and also with the Prince of the Covenant, after he hath joined himself in close confederacy with him, shall he practise deceit; so that he shall advance and

him.—One MS. reads וזרעות הנגב “And the arms of the south,” which may countenance the explanation I have given to the word השטף that follows. By the arms of the south may be meant the chief fortresses or frontier towns, as at ver. 15. Whether we retain or omit the word נגב, the expression of the inundation will incline us to believe that the country of the Nile is here meant. And Cleopatra assembled large forces to assist Heliodorus against Antiochus; but with the assistance of Eumenes king of Pergamus and his brother Attalus, he overcame and broke all the powers that united in resisting him, secured the provinces of Coelosyria and Palestine, and reduced the frontiers of Egypt.

—*and also with the Prince of the Covenant, &c.*—One MS. reads בנגיד, which I have followed, and connected the words with the following verse, which one MS. begins with וגם the first word of this clause. The ו prefixed to the first word of ver. 23, is no objection to this connexion, as instances of this sort are not uncommon in the midst of a clause. See Gen. xxii. 4. The like is observable at ver. 36 of this Chapter. Some understand by the Prince or Leader of the Covenant the High-Priest Onias, who was deposed and murdered by Antiochus, and his brother Jason placed in his stead. 2 Mac. iv. 10. But it must rather mean the young Philometor, the son of Cleopatra, the Rex fœderatus, as Michaelis styles him, and produces many authorities in his Supplement for this sense of the word נגיד. With this young Prince his uncle Antiochus had just concluded a peace; but after the league had practised deceit, as immediately follows. The expression ומן התחברות, “even after he had closely united himself by a league with him,” and the Gr. ἀπο τῶν συνναμικσεων, seem very strong, and characteristic of the conduct of Antiochus, as mentioned at ver. 21, for he had no intention to maintain or preserve the peace that he had made, but only did it to lull and amuse the young Prince who depended on it, while he himself was soon after making preparations for war.

23. —*so that he shall advance and become strong with a small people by quiet measures.*—This seems still to relate to the first

- become strong with a small people by quiet measures.
- 24 Then into the richest parts of the province shall he proceed, and shall do what neither his fathers, nor his fathers' fathers have done; the plunder, the spoil, and

attempt upon Egypt; a few people shall assist him then, or his own forces shall be small, independent of those of his confederates, but by his art, and under pretence of promoting the interest of Philometor, he met with great encouragement in his designs; thus strengthening his cause by quiet measures; for I think the first word of ver. 24, *בשלוח* should be joined to this clause.

24. *Then into the richest parts of the province shall he proceed.*—Into the most wealthy and fertile parts of Egypt, which are those within the Delta, or the parts not far from the frontiers. When Antiochus went to examine the southern parts of his dominion, 2 Mac. iv. 21, he sent Apollonius with his retinue into Egypt; but it does not appear that he made an excursion thither himself. This however is certain that he afterwards defeated the forces of the Egyptians between Mount Casius and Pelusium, and thereupon strengthened the barrier in that quarter against any future attempts by Ptolemy, and after this returned to Tyre, and put his army into winter quarters. Thus ended his first campaign.

When he advanced into Egypt the next year, he went farther, even to Memphis, and executed greater achievements, and displayed more extraordinary instances of liberality or profusion than any of his predecessors, courting the Egyptians by large bribes and donations acquired from the plunder, and aiming at the entire sovereignty over that country. 1 Mac. i. 16. He also formed designs upon the barrier or strongest towns, and laid siege to Alexandria, &c., having secured Pelusium or the key of Egypt. It should be observed also, that Gr. and Ar. at the last clause of this verse, instead of “against the fortresses,” read “against Egypt;” having probably found in their copies *מצררים* for *מצרים*. The two last words of this verse “for a time,” Syr. joins to the verse that follows. One MS. reads *קץ עת* instead of *עת וער*; but no alteration is wanted. The meaning seems to be, either that he should devise his schemes at the properest season, or that their effect shall be but of short continuance.

- the wealth shall he disperse among them, and against the fortresses shall he devise his machinations even for
 25 a time. For he shall rouse his strength and his courage against the king of the south with a great army, and the king of the south shall engage in battle with an army very great and powerful, yet he shall not stand, because they shall devise plots against him.
 26 Even those that eat the portion of his meat shall

25. *For he shall rouse his strength—against the king of the south.*
 —The Author of the second book of Mac. c. v. 1, expressly speaks of a second expedition of Antiochus against Egypt, and to this I conceive the present verse alludes. Though at his first attempt he had designs upon Egypt, yet he dared not avow them openly: Nor was he bold enough to do this, till settled in the firm enjoyment of his crown, or in about five years from the commencement of his usurpation. He began his reign in the 137th year of the æra of the Seleucidæ, or of the kingdom of the Greeks. 1 Mac. i. 10. And when his kingdom was established, he thought to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms, ver. 16. And after he had smitten Egypt, his return thence was in the 143rd year, ver. 20. It was about the fifth or sixth year of his reign therefore that he made this powerful descent. Ptolemy endeavoured to provide against it, and met him with a very large army, when an engagement ensued, in which the latter was unsuccessful, and obliged to flee before Antiochus. Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof. 1 Mac. i. 19.—It may be proper to take notice that there is a sort of hysterologia in the 24th and 25th verses, the consequences of this descent of Antiochus being first declared, before his engagement in the war; but the connexion seems to have required it, and the latter verse is offered as a reason or explanation of the occasion of his conduct in the former. And beside the narrative proceeds at the close of this verse to another subject, to explain the causes of Philometor's disappointment, which were the insidious conduct of his ministers Lennæus and Eulæus, and the treachery of his friends.

26. *Even those that eat the portion of his meat shall betray him.*—

- betray him, and his army shall be overflown, and many
 27 shall fall down slain. Moreover of both these kings
 their intention shall be to act maliciously, and at one
 table they shall speak deceitfully, yet it shall not
 prosper, for still the end is for the time appointed.
 28 Then shall he return into his own land with great

For the meaning of the term פִּתְבִּגֵּן buccellam vel portionem cibi ejus, see on Chap. i. 5. Some of Philometor's Governors revolted from him, and his intimate friends forsook him, and by some means or other he fell into the hands of Antiochus. I suspect he was delivered up to him from the passage before us, or at least insidiously persuaded to yield himself up. For instead of יִשְׁבְּרוּהוּ "shall bruise or break him," one MS. reads יִשְׁכְּרוּהוּ, "shall sell or betray him:" "His army also shall be overflown;" so Vulg. and Syr. Twenty-six MSS. likewise drop the Vau in יִשְׁטוּהוּ, and thus read the word passively, "And many shall fall down slain," or as we read in the fore-cited Chapter of 1 Mac. "Many were wounded to death."

27. *Moreover of both these kings their intention shall be to act maliciously, and at one table they shall speak deceitfully.*—"To act maliciously," לְמַרְעֵ, the participle in Hiph. for the infinitive, and with ל prefixed used as a gerund, as at ver. 1. There is a pleonasm in the affixes in the Hebrew, which in this instance I have endeavoured to follow in the translation. The conduct of Antiochus toward the Egyptians was courteous and flattering, and on this account at Memphis he treated their king Philometor as his relation and friend; he was admitted to the same table with him; and both made a shew of civilities and obliging behaviour, transferred the blame of their contentions each to other advisers or designs, and spoke lies under the mask of friendship and cordial affection. The real design of Antiochus was to retain the kingdom of Egypt, or the sole disposal of it; that of Philometor, to exclude him entirely, and take his measures accordingly: But the schemes of neither would be successful or prosper; for the end of the dissensions was not yet come, but was reserved for the time that Providence had fixed for it; the indignation against the Jews being not yet accomplished.

28. *Then shall he return into his own land—having his heart upon*

wealth, and having his heart upon the holy Covenant he shall dispatch his work, as he returns into his own land.

- 29 At a time appointed he shall advance again into the south, but it shall not be as the former or as the latter.
30 For there shall come against him ships of Chittim,

the holy Covenant.—The Author of the first book of Maccabees describes his opulence, and the wealth he had acquired from plundering Egypt: In his return to Syria he laid siege to Jerusalem, having been provoked by the apprehension of a rebellion there; and when he had taken that city he slew 40,000 of its inhabitants, and sold as many for slaves, impiously forced himself into the temple, polluted the Holy of Holies, under the conduct of Menelaus the traitorous brother of Jason, the latter having seized the office of High Priest on a report of the death of Antiochus at Memphis: and after having committed many other enormities and sacrileges, he continued his return to Antioch, carrying thither the spoils of Judea and Egypt. See 1 Mac. i. 20. and 2 Mac. v. 21, Joseph. Ant. xii. 6, and the Authors before cited.

29. *At a time appointed he shall advance again into the south.*—The city of Alexandria had not submitted to Antiochus, but having been offended with the conduct of Philometor, had set up his brother Euergetes, or Physcon, as king in his stead. After a short time the two brothers laid aside their mutual dissensions, and agreed to reign jointly, that they might resist with more success the common enemy. Antiochus hastened to oppose this league, and now undertook another expedition into Egypt; but this attempt on Alexandria was not attended with like success with either of the former campaigns. Grotius following the Vulg. Latin thus explains the latter part of this verse, "This second expedition shall not be as successful as the former;" and the original may be rendered, "but the latter shall not be like the former." However as the Author of the second book of Maccabees considers the expedition at ver. 25 as a second, we should rather reckon this as a third. The former indeed consisted of two campaigns, or two designs upon Egypt, the latter of which might be the second expedition of that writer. Indeed the Ar. and many Interpreters explain this as a third enterprise; and some consider it as a fourth.

30. *For there shall come against him ships of Chittim.*—Heb. ציים כתיב. One MS. reads צים as the word is in Num. xxiv. 24, and

whereby he shall be grievously humbled ; therefore

two MSS. read כתיים as at Jeremiah ii. 10, but at Ezek. xxvii. 6, the latter word is the same as in the present text, and so Gen. x. 4. The countries peopled by the descendants of Cittim, the son of Javan, the son of Japhet, were probably called כתיים, and by contraction כתיים. Zeno the famous Stoic philosopher was born at a town in the island of Cyprus anciently called Citium, which Josephus thinks was built by this Cittim the son of Javan ; and from hence he was called Κίτιεύς. And perhaps the primary intention of the word כתיים might have been to denote the inhabitants of Cyprus or those other islands of the Mediterranean that were nearest Syria ; but it was afterwards extended to Cilicia and the coasts of the Great Sea, to Greece, 1 Mac. i. 1, and viii. 5, and also to Italy ; See Boch. Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 5. But the learned Vitranga on Isa. xxiii. 1, would confine the Cethiim altogether to the Italians ; and of the four sons of Javan, he thinks Elisha means the Peloponnesians, Tharsis the Spaniards, Dodanim or Rhodanim the Gauls, as distinct from the Celts, and Cethiim the people of Italy. Gr. has οἱ ἐκπορευόμενοι, and seems to have read יוציין, or יציין. Καὶ ἡξουσὶ Ρωμαῖοι. Cod. Chis.

The Roman ambassadors that are here alluded to were conveyed in their three-oared galleys, Vulg. trieres*, from Italy by way of Macedonia (which according to Livy, lib. xlv. the Romans had lately conquered), to Antiochus near Alexandria. The purport of their message was to enjoin him to desist from his enterprize against Egypt, which at the request of the two brothers they had undertaken to defend. In consequence of this message, and the spirited behaviour of C. Popilius Lænas, he was sadly mortified and much humbled†, and in his return to Syria vented his rage upon Jerusalem. He detached Appollonius with 22,000 men from his army, who laid the city waste, set fire to it in several places, and built a strong fortress in the city of David that might command the temple, in order to destroy those that came to worship there. He renewed also his connexions with the Jewish apostates, Menelaus and his party, and endeavoured to gain over the whole inhabitants to a conformity with the religion of the Greeks and their heathenish rites. See 1 Mac. i. 41, to the end.

* And so Num. xxiv. 24. ציין מִיר כתיים. Venient in trieribus de Italia,

† Ταπεινωθήσεται. Th. pusillanimis fiet. Michaelis : Suppl. p. 1196.

shall he again have indignation against the holy Covenant, and dispatch his work as he returns, when he shall have intelligence with those that forsake the holy
 31 Covenant. But mighty Powers shall stand up from these, who shall defile the sanctuary of strength,

—shall have intelligence with those that forsake the holy Covenant. —

So Th. but Aquila, in Bahrdt, et cogitabit, ut deseratur pactum Sanctuarii. Yet the present seems the best sense, and most agreeable to the Heb. Text.

31. *But mighty Powers shall stand up from these.*—Heb. כִּמְנוּ, from the descendants of Chittim. The last expedition of Antiochus into Egypt has been already mentioned, and consequently his last attack on the city and people of the Jews. Another power was introduced at the 30th verse, in the term ‘ships of Chittim;’ and to this the narrative most probably now turns, and by a fair interpretation will be found applicable to the affairs and consequences of this fourth beast or kingdom to the end of the book. A variety of opinions concerning this part of the Prophecy, the reasons of the sudden transition from the Grecian to the Roman power, and the arguments in favour of the interpretation which we shall now follow, may be seen largely treated of at the beginning of Bp. Newton’s 17th Dissertation. Some copies of the Gr. and Ar. Versions read here, ‘arms and an offspring;’ the word זרעים has both senses; and in one MS. it is followed by the word ים, *of the Sea or of the West*. These variations tend at least to confirm the application of the passage to the Romans, who springing originally from some of the Grecian coasts migrated to the west, and settled on the borders of the same sea. By “arms” זרעים may be understood military powers of superior strength, fortified troops, or mighty forces. At ver. 15 and 22 of this Chap. I have applied the word זרעיות to frontier or garrisoned towns, and by an easy metonymy I conceive the term is also applicable to the troops engaged in those garrisons, and from thence to armies or forces detached on any singular expedition. “Des hommes puissans viendront.” Calmet. These powers having first arisen from the side of Greece shall be established therein again; for Paulus Æmilius subdued Macedonia; and the rest of Greece came under the Roman yoke in the reign of Epiphanes. From thence they shall descend upon Syria, and in pro-

and shall remove the daily sacrifice, and set up the
 32 abomination that maketh desolate. / Now those that
 impiously disregard the Covenant will dissemble in
 flatteries, but the people that know their God will
 33 firmly retain and practise it. And those that are wise

cess of time imitate Antiochus in ravaging and destroying Jerusalem. The latter part of the verse seems to agree better with this interpretation than with that which refers it to the Grecian Monarch: Though I am inclined to think that the Divine Mind had an eye to both, to the type and the antitype, or to the abuses of Antiochus, of which an account has been given in Chap. viii. and to the more full and fatal havoc under the son of Vespasian. See Ch. ix. 26, 27. After this the type seems only to be lightly glanced at; and we shall go on to consider the narrative as chiefly pointing at the concerns of the Christian Church to the end of the indignation, or till the purposes and designs of Providence are fully completed and answered.

Why the Temple is called the Sanctuary of Strength, see Ezek. xl. 2. Ps. xcvi. 6. But one MS. drops the word *המקדש*, and another has it before *המקדש*.

32. *Now those that impiously disregard the Covenant will dissemble.*—The verb *יחניף* is singular, and from hence is thought to refer to Antiochus, but it may as well be referred to the new power mentioned in the last verse. However I suspect there is a mistake in the Text, as the Versions Gr. Ar. and Vul. read the verb plurally; with a very little variation I think we should read *יחנפו*, to which the noun at the beginning will serve as a nominative case, and thus Vulg. seems to have given the true sense, “*Impii in testamentum simulabunt fraudulent.*” The history to which the passage refers is the artifices and alluring promises which the Roman Emperors made use of, to draw away the first Christians from the profession of their faith. Many were induced to dissemble and to apostatise to the ancient idolatry; but those who were truly sincere and pious adhered steadily to the faith, and practised the duties of the new covenant into which they had been received.

33. *And those that are wise instructors of the people shall have understanding in many things.*—The two first words of this verse appear to be in regimine, and the participle in Hiph. signifies “to inform or instruct;”

instructors of the people shall have understanding in many things, yet they shall fall by the sword, and by the flame, in captivity, and amongst the plunder of the
 34 times. But after they shall have fallen, they shall be relieved with a little assistance, when many shall be
 35 fastened upon them through flatteries. Also of those

strictly it denotes men of understanding, ingenious persons, whether of natural or acquired abilities; Gr. *οἱ συνετοί*; and its connexion with the next word should seem to intimate such sort of skill as would contribute to the people's benefit. The verb *יבינו* must have the intransitive sense as it is followed by *ל*, and so Gr. *συνησουσιν εἰς πολλὰ*. The meaning is, that the teachers should be persons of well-informed minds, alluding probably to the communications they would receive from the Spirit of God. But one MS. omits the word *לרבים*, and nine MSS. read at the end of the verse *ימים רבים* "many days," which Syr. interprets by "a^t thousand days." Possibly the word *לרבים* has lost its place and should be at the end of the verse. Yet the Text is certainly capable of a good sense, as I have now translated it. Rectè *ימים* sine addito. Houbig.

The persecution under Antiochus lasted a few years, and the conduct of the Jews and their sufferings under it may be seen in the 1st book of Mac. ch. ii. and 2 Mac. ch. vi. and vii. and Josephus Ant. xii. 7. See also on ch. viii. But the language applies very forcibly to the instructions of the first teachers of Christianity, and their consequent sufferings in ten different persecutions under the Emperors of Pagan Rome.

34. *But after they shall have fallen, they shall be relieved with a little assistance.*—That of Mattathias and Judas Maccabæus and his followers, if the Text be referred to Antiochus; but rather should be meant that of Constantine under the Christian dispensation. The long persecution of Dioclesian was now brought to an end, and the Emperor become the Patron of the Church, which yet was torn by intestine feuds and discordant tenets: and though many were inclined to adhere to the religion of the Prince, yet it was more from sinister designs, and the prospect of advantage, than any real and sincere attachment.

35. *Also of those that have understanding shall some fall.*—The

that have understanding shall some fall, to be proved among them, and to be cleansed, and to be made white, even to the time of the end.

36 For still for an appointed time a king shall even act

wisest and best of men, the teachers of the true doctrine, the zealous defenders of the faith; some of these should be involved in the common calamity, to answer the purposes of Providence, "to be proved among them;" בָּהֶם לִצְרוּף; *πυρωσαι εν αυτοις*. MS. Pach. Many MSS. read. לִצְרוּף dropping the ו: Thus, according to Vul., the verbs may each assume a passive form. And this occasional suffering by way of proof or purgation will continue "to the time of the end." Error will abound, and there will still arise fit persons to refute it; whose labours will redound to their own advantage, as well as to the glory of God. Mr. Mede, b. iv. p. 797, understands by "the time of the end," the termination of the Grecian monarchy, which in the holy account is not extended beyond Antiochus Epiphanes, as no acts of any king thereof are recorded later. See on ch. viii. 23. The Author of Revelation of St. John Considered, understands by the expression that period, when the suffering brethren shall be all brought into the spiritual temple, and as witnesses prophesy in sackcloth. Rev. xi. 2. The like expression is elsewhere to be met with in Scripture, and has different senses according to the different objects to which it must be necessarily referred. At Matt. xxiv. 14, it relates primarily to the destruction of the temple and state of the Jews; but Dr. Clarke in his Paraphrase on the place observes, "In like manner when the Christian religion has made its progress through all the nations of the earth, the end of the world shall come." Yet in the text before us nothing more seems to be meant by the expression, than the end which Providence shall appoint for the troubles and distresses of his people.

36. *For still for an appointed time a king shall even act according to his will.*—A king, that is, a state or kingdom under any sort of power or potentate. See Mat. iv. 8. I follow Mr. Mede in thus joining to this verse the latter clause of the preceding. Many passages that follow can have no proper relation to Antiochus, who did not long survive his profanation of the temple and persecution of the Jews: and especially in the 12th Chap. the Prophecy must evidently be extended to the latter times, and to the state of the Church in those

according to his will, and shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and against the God of gods shall he speak marvellously, and shall prosper until the completion of the indignation; for the decision
37 is made. Also to the gods of his fathers he shall not

times. Moreover if we compare the language of St. Paul in 2 Thess. ii. 4, with the words that we find in the four next verses of this Prophecy, and if we trace the resemblance farther in the 13th and 17th chapters of Revelations, we shall have little doubt but the same character is meant by all three Writers, and that their descriptions can properly belong to none but Antichrist. See this analogy finely illustrated by Bishop Newton in his 3rd Vol. of Dissert. chap. xxvi.

The Cop. Paris. Code reads this clause somewhat stronger; instead of "*faciet, shall act,*" it has "*declinabit, shall decline, or turn away.*"

—*and shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god.*—Both these verbs are in Hithpahel and of very strong import. "And against the God of gods" (omitted in Th. but supplied in MSS. Alex. Pach. and Copt.) "shall he speak *σπερογκα* great swelling words," marvellous or even blasphemous expressions. See on Chap. vii. 25. This arbitrary power shall assume despotic authority over other potentates both in civil and religious matters, and shall occasionally exalt itself above all laws human or divine. Yet it shall prosper, or continue possessed of absolute sway, till the indignation shall be completed, that is probably, till the days of vengeance against the Jews shall be accomplished. See Mr. Mede, p. 667.

—*for the decision is made.*—So Syr. and thus Mr. Mede, p. 903, "*quippe decisio facta est;*" which he refers to the time. For the signification of נִחְרַצָה a participle of the feminine absolute, see on Chap. ix. 27, the verb that follows is of the same gender in Niph. One MS. omits כִּי; and if this be dropped, the words may both agree with כִּלָּה just before, and we may render, "until the determined accomplishment of the indignation shall be effected." See Chap. xii. 7. Kimchi has observed in his Comment on Obadiah, that when Rome shall be laid waste, there shall be redemption for Israel.

37. *Also to the gods of his fathers he shall not attend.*—Gr. ἐν παντί τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν πατέρων, "to all or any of the gods of his fathers;"

attend, nor to the desire of women, nor to any God shall he attend, for he shall magnify himself above all.

that is, he shall pay no attention to the religion of his ancestors: For the heathen Polytheism was quite abolished by the Roman emperors, in the time of Constantine: but Vulg. and Syr. render the word אלהי in the sing. num. and in this sense it must mean, that Anti-christ should pay little attention to the established or generally received religion, but corrupt the proper worship of the true God with his own vitiated mixtures.

—*nor to the desire of women, nor to any God shall he attend.*—The former preposition *en* is not in the Greek of Th. but it is in Copt. and MS. Pachom. Mr. Dimock proposes an ingenious alteration in the first part of this clause, and instead of נשים “women,” would read גוים “Nations,” so that by “the desire of nations,” might be meant Christ or the Messiah, as at Hag. ii. 7, but as the conjecture is supported by no authority, we must not venture to adopt it; and he allows the present text to be capable of a good sense. Bp. Newton from Mr. Mede interprets it as relating to the conjugal state, the desire or affection for wives. See Cant. vii. 10, Ezek. xxiv. 16, LXX, in Bahrdt, et concupiscentiis mulierum non subjacebit.

By discouraging marriage the Roman emperors did great detriment to human society, and great discredit to the christian religion. This example was followed; celibacy was encouraged in papal Rome, monks and nuns were multiplied, and by degrees the clergy were altogether prohibited from matrimony. See Mede's Works, p. 668. The Author of Revelation of St. John Considered, interprets the word חמדה in a kind of active sense, as the love of women to their offspring, to whom sterility was deemed a reproach; but it should rather be considered as a passive quality, and the proper sense of the word is “desirableness.” Thus Cicero to his wife, En mea lux, meum desiderium. As to the remaining part of the clause before us, “nor to any god shall he attend,” three MSS. drop the Vau in the word אלהי, and the whole is dropped in Cod. Chis. or the Roman LXX. By *any* or *every God* may be understood a total disregard of religious obligations of every sort, which this anti-christian power would not scruple to violate. Neither the gods of the nations, nor the God of Heaven, neither the propensities of nature, nor the bonds of civil society, were duly regarded; but dispensations and indulgences of all kinds were

38 Yet near to God in his seat shall he honour Mahuzzim,

granted; and thus he magnified himself above all things, above every tie natural or voluntary, civil or sacred.

38. *Yet near to God in his seat shall he honour Mahuzzim.*—For this signification of the participle לֹא־לִפְנֵי see Nold. p. 406. Or it may be rendered “before God,” coram Deo, or instar Dei. “Twenty-five MSS. read the first word וְלֹא־לִפְנֵי, and twelve have יְדַעְוָהוּ in the next clause, which is more grammatical.” Mr. Dimock. עַל כִּסֵּי “on his seat” or base, or in his place. Gr. ἐπὶ τοποῦ αὐτοῦ, and so Vulg. and Ar. super sedem suam. Syr. see ver. 7, 20, 21. Gr. and Vulg. retain the word Mahuzzim.—Porphyry and Grotius have interpreted it of the Phœnician Deity Modin: All interpreters, as far as I know, refer it to some Deity: And from the signification of the word, “strengths or forces,” Mr. Amner* seems to think it means Jupiter Olympius. But the whole of the description of this king or kingdom certainly agrees better with Antichrist, than Antiochus, to whom he confines it; and Jupiter Olympius was no other than Baal, or בַּעַל שֵׁם יְרֵמְיָהוּ who long before had a Temple at Tyre, and consequently could not be the deity whom his fathers were unacquainted with; for this must be the proper sense of the verb יָדַע in the next clause. Four MSS. indeed drop this next clause; but as the Versions all retain it, together with the other MSS. and Editions, we may presume the error lies in those four copies, and if we reflect that the former clause and this begin and end with the same words, and that the latter part of the verse after the second יִכְבֵּד may be fairly enough connected with the former clause, we shall not wonder at the mistake.

The Mahuzzim, protectors or defenders, according to a just sense of the word, are the objects of worship which were established in Christian churches, the saints and angels, that were adored in the same places with the true God, and too frequently instead of him. To these their devotees had recourse for protection in distress: In the very temples and near the altars of the true God or of Christ, whom their pagan ancestors knew not, they did honour to them with costly shrines and images, decorated with superstitious ornaments of the most valuable and expensive furniture. See Isa. xlv. 9. This superstition began as early as the fourth century, and many of the fathers tell us, that

* See his Essay on the Prophecies of Daniel, printed at London, for J. Johnson, 1776.

even near the God whom his fathers knew not shall he do honour, with gold, and with silver, and with precious stones, and with the most desirable things. And he shall provide for fortresses of Mahuzzim together

the worship of Mahuzzim as such, or of saints and angels under that character, was generally established. Also in the year 787, image-worship was fully ratified by the seventh general council, or the second at Nice. For authorities to this purpose see Mr. Mede's Works, b. iii. Sir Isaac Newton on Daniel, Chap. xiv. and Bp. Newton's 17th Dissertation. It is certain that the term מַעֲזֵי "protector," LXX. *υπερασπιστης*, is applied to the true God in Ps. xxxi. 5, and again at Ps. xxxvii. 39, and therefore we may less wonder if by the same word in the plural number מַעֲזֵיִם should be understood the false or idol deities.

The Editor of Cod. Chisian, smartly censures Sir Isaac Newton for his opinion on this subject, which in substance resembles what is given above, but does not attempt to refute it, unless by offering what I conceive to be a much more objectionable one of his own. He thinks Mars is the idol here alluded to, and founds his notion on a resemblance between the word מַעֲזֵי, and the Latin Mavors. Thus, Maoz or Maos, by the assistance of the Æolic Digamma Mafos or Mavos, and by the assumption of the letter R, Mavors. Some coins also which he points at in the Musellian and Medicean Museums are conceived to have the figure of Antiochus on one side, and a Mars hasta'us with a bow or whip on the reverse, but the Antiochus of the latter he acknowledges has been taken for Apollo. I neither think his derivation of the word sufficiently accurate, nor the uncertain authority of his two ancient coins sufficiently decisive, nor the illustrations which he produces from the first of Maccabees, from Polybius, and Athenæus, sufficiently in point, to establish the opinion for which he so strenuously contends.

39. *And he shall provide for fortresses of Mahuzzim together with God.*—One MS. omits the ל before מַבְצָרֵי; But Gr. has τοὺς οχυρώμασι. The Council of Constantinople calls images *Δαιμονικά οχυρώματα*. These fortresses are the shrines, or temples, or strong holds of the tutelar saints: Provision was to be made for them under the same roof in which the true God was adored, as was the case in both the Greek and Latin Communions. Mr. Mede observes, b. iii. p. 674,

with God, whom he shall certainly acknowledge; and

that the Greeks at this day in their *Preces Horariæ* thus invoke the blessed Virgin; "O thou Mother of God, thou impregnable Wall, thou Fortress of Salvation (מעוז ישועות Ps. 28,) we call upon thee, that thou wouldest be a Fence to this city."

—*whom he shall certainly acknowledge.*—נכר אשר הכיר, or as many MSS. read with the Masora, הכיר יכיר; though there is no necessity for a change, as the distant ו may affect the tense. The word נכר has usually been considered as a noun adjective, and joined with the preceding word, "a strange god," and thus referred to the true God, from whom these false worshippers were in fact estranged, not unlike the *unknown* god of the Athenians; Acts xvii. 23. But I rather look upon it as the infinitive in Pihel, making with the same verb that follows in Hiph. a reduplication, and to be referred to the Mahuzzim just before. The sense in both conjugations is nearly the same, "to know or acknowledge;" see Job iv. 16, and xxi. 29, and Deut. xxi. 17, and though the word אשר occurs between the two verbs, yet I do not apprehend this to be any material objection, as a word of this sort, especially the negative particle לא, is often introduced between reduplicates. See Jer. xxx. 11.

The Versions read the word that follows וירבה, or perhaps with only lengthening the Jod ורבה, but the sense does not necessarily require an alteration. "He shall multiply the honour, and cause them to have dominion over many." Every country, city, and even town, had a sort of tutelar saint, and the parish churches were dedicated each to its proper patron or protector, to whom vows were made, and religious homage performed. Thus the influence of these Mahuzzim was widely extended, and portions of the land or country were allotted to the Priests, which in time became so large, that whole provinces were at their disposal, were sold out, and subjected to their usurpations and tyranny.

If the reader will turn to the note on Chap. vii. 25, he will find a series of conclusions drawn from the preceding observations on that chapter; the last of which was, that the power there alluded to was Antichrist, who under the times of the Gospel would exalt himself as God, and usurp some of the characters and the worship due to the most High. In our subsequent inquiries several other marks have occurred by which we might be able to ascertain in a great measure

he shall multiply the honour, and cause them to have

to whom this character of Antichrist belongs, or where the usurpation is seated, which has been so unfriendly to the true church of Christ, and will continue to be so, until it be stripped of its dominion, or until the time of the end. But perhaps we shall find enough for our satisfaction, if beside the general recollection of what has been advanced before, we attentively revise the four last verses, or, at farthest, the part of this chapter from ver. 31, which relates to the Roman empire. Now from the mention of "the sanctuary," and "the people that know their God," and "the skilful instructors," it seems evident that the angel chiefly alludes to ecclesiastical matters, or the state of the church. And it is evident from ver. 33 and 35, that a time of persecution and great danger is pointed at. In this afflicted state of the church then a new power was to arise, to which many distinguishing characters are assigned at the 36th and following verses. It would in the first place be an idolatrous and licentious power, of great and widely extended influence. It was also to demolish the ancient worship of its fathers, and to exalt itself above the ties of nature, and the obligations of every sort of religion; to give into all the extravagancies of superstition, and to subject every thing to its tyranny, usurpation, or avarice.

Now about the year of Christ 322, imperial Rome became Christian: Soon after this time errors began to spread themselves in the church; schisms and divisions arose, and in consequence of these great persecutions followed: And thus the little Horn of Daniel, the man of sin of St. Paul, and the beast of the Apocalypse began to increase and prevail. It was not till some hundred years after, that they reached their full strength; but at some part of the 8th century the power which is represented by each of these emblems was so fully established in Rome, that there can be very little doubt to whom it ought to be assigned; and in the 10th and 11th centuries the characters were so marked and glaring, that they were decisively fixed by the writers of those times on the occupiers of St. Peter's Chair. The term of the continuance of this tyranny cannot be ascertained, as we know not where exactly to fix its commencement. Its origin was gradual, and if we may judge from circumstances that now appear, we may conjecture that its decline will be so likewise. "The fall of Antichrist," as Bp. Hurd remarks, *Serm. viii. p. 277*, "is

dominion over many; for the land will he distribute at a price.

- 40 But at the time of the end a king of the south shall push at him; also a king of the north shall tempestu-

not a single event to happen all at once, but a state of things to continue through a long tract of time, and to be gradually accomplished." And in some future ages of the world, when the period shall be finished, or the predicted years brought to a conclusion, I doubt not but it will fully appear, that the seat of Antichrist was in papal Rome; and that the characters which Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John, have given of it will be found to have corresponded with the usurpations of the Popedom. For farther illustrations on this interesting subject I must refer my readers to Bp. Newton's 26th Dissertation, Mr. Lowman on Rev. xiii. p. 146, &c. and to the Warburtonian Lectures, especially the 7th and 11th of Bp. Hurd.

40. *But at the time of the end a king of the south shall push at him.*—In the latter days, *σφεποῖς καιροῖς*, or in the later ages of the world (see Mr. Mede, b. iii. 4,) "a king of the south," not Philometor, unless we can suppose the angel in this concise account of things to repeat what he had detailed before; nor does the monarch of the south always refer to Egypt in Scripture, as the queen of the south is the queen of Sheba on the coasts of the Indian ocean; and Bochart cites from the book that is called *Juchasin* an application of this kingdom of Jeman, or of the south, to the Saracens: This kingly power "shall push at him," an obvious metaphor from the butting of bulls, the verb in Hithpahal is strong, as is that also in the following clause: But one MS. has not עִמּוֹ, "at him," which the Gr. also omits, and reads "he shall push at the king of the south;" and thus the allusion may probably be to the holy wars or crusades against the Saracens under Saladine. Yet MS. Pachom. has μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Νοτοῦ. If therefore we retain the present text, we must refer it to the incursions of the Saracens over the western empire. This people came from the south, from Arabia, and under Mohammed and his successors the Caliphs subdued Egypt and Syria, and made great advances over the provinces of Christendom, both in Asia and Africa and even in Europe.

—also a king of the north shall tempestuously rush upon him.—

ously rush upon him with chariots and with horsemen, and with a large fleet, and shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass through. He shall
 41 enter also into the land of glory, and though many shall be ruined, these shall escape out of his hand,

Shall come as in a whirlwind against him with chariots and with horsemen. After the Saracens had made encroachments on the Grecian empire, the Turks from the north, or the ancient Scythians and Tartars, finished the work of the former invaders, entirely reduced Asia under their dominion, and made considerable advances in Europe. The Prophet has several times in this narrative expressed the progress and havoc of war by the ravages of an inundation, and we find the like allusion at the close of this verse. The transactions of this verse are limited to the time of the sixth trumpet of St. John, Rev. ix. 16, and the description of the army is thought to correspond with what Ezekiel foretels of Gog in the land of Magog. See Chap. xxxviii. 2, and Bp. Newcome's Note upon the place. The retinue accompanying this king of the north agrees very well with the cavalry and fleets of the Turks, when they subdued the eastern empire about the beginning of the 16th century.

41. *He shall enter also into the land of glory.*—Gr. and Ar. retain the name Tzabi, as in former instances, see on ver. 16, and Chap. viii. 9. Syr. has the land of Israel. Vulg. the glorious land. The Turks under their Sultan Selim recovered from Egypt Palestine, or the Holy Land, which has been subject to the Ottoman empire ever since.

—*and though many shall be ruined, these shall escape.*—One MS. reads רבית for רבים; but the following clause will incline us to prefer the present text; so that רבית may be either a feminine absolute equivalent to a neuter, or may agree with ארצות. Edom was a very considerable country about the time of David, who made war with it, destroyed its city, and dispersed its inhabitants, 2 Sam. viii. he smote Moab also and the Ammonites; the two latter peoples were the descendants of Lot, and of the former or Esau it was foretold, that by his sword he should live, which were the dying words of his father. By “the chief of the Ammonites,” or of the sons of Ammon, we may understand either the metropolis Rabbatham, near the

- Edom and Moab and the chief of the Ammonites.
 42 Yet when he shall extend his power over the countries,
 43 the land of Egypt shall not escape: But he shall have
 dominion over the treasures of gold and of silver, and
 over all the desirable things of Egypt; and the Libyans

Philadelphia of Ammianus, or the principal cities thereof. The word ראשית is applied to Amalek, Num. xxiv. 20. But Syriac, as the Bishop of Waterford observes, reads שארית, "the remnant of the children of Ammon," and Cod. Chis. has ἀρχή.

Edom and Moab and the Ammonites are thus joined, Jer. xxv. 21, and we meet with them again together, Isai. xi. 14. They were all to the east or south-east of the Dead Sea, and now make a part of the extensive range of the wild Arabs. Thus Mr. Mede understands the last clause of this verse, as referring to the Arabians, or that part of their country which was never subdued by the Turk; but rather sums of money have been continually paid by the Ottoman power for the safe passage of their caravans through the Desart.

42.—*the land of Egypt shall not escape.*—Selim obtained a complete victory over Egypt, and put an end to the dominion of the Mamalucs in 1517.

43. *But he shall have dominion over the treasures—of Egypt.*—This relates to the conquest just mentioned, and the effects and consequences of it. See Bp. Newton's 17th Dissertation, and the Authors he refers to, p. 183, &c.

—*and the Libyans and Ethiopians shall be in his steps.*—Many MSS. and some ancient, read לובים and כושים with the Vau in each word, which is probably right. Gr. reads, "and of the Libyans and Ethiopians in their strong holds," εν τοις οχυρωμασι αυτων. Cod. Chis. εν τω οχλω αυτου. Vulg. per Libyam quoque et Æthiopiam transibit, Possibly this word במצעריו should be, or may mean, the same with במועדיו at Isai. xiv. 31, which Bp. Lowth translates "among his levies," and Ar. "in his footsteps;" And thus the French Trans. "seront à sa suite." In general the countries beyond Egypt in the more southern as well as western parts of Africa, which were confederate with Egypt, (see Ezek. xxx. 5.) these became obedient to the Turk, were either, according to Syr. his auxiliaries, or ready to

44 and Ethiopians shall be in his steps. But rumours shall disturb him from the east and from the north;

follow his commands, or, with Mr. Mede, should be at his devotion. But this does not appear to be true of Antiochus, at least Jerom observes, that it is not so recorded in history.

By the Libyans must be understood the inhabitants of the desert and the interior countries on the west or south-west parts of Egypt, from לוֹב, a word which has the signification of dry or thirsty. So Lucan,

per calidas Libyæ sitientis arenas.

The Cushites were the descendants of Ham, from his son Cush; whose original settlement is said to have been at Chuzestan or Susiana; and his posterity are supposed to have dwelt on the banks of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, and thence to have intermixed with the Arabs. But whether from these parts on the other side of the Red Sea, or from Egypt, which was undoubtedly peopled by the race of Ham, it is probable that multitudes of the Cushites migrated towards Ethiopia, that is Arabia Chusæa; and, according to Mr. Bruce, built a city very early at Axum, and pushed their colony down to Atbara and the lower parts of Abyssinia: They studied, as he observes, at Meroe, lived in caves in the mountains, and seem to have had communication with Thebes, the No-Ammon of the prophet Nahum, Chap. iii. 8, above which there are caves in the mountains, inhabited by Troglodytes, as above Meroe. Nahum observes of this famous city, that "Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and there is no end to it: Phut and Lubim were her helpers." Phut may mean the dispersed and scattered Cushites, or the shepherds of Africa, and Lubim the Libyan peasants. These were employed as carriers of goods on camels through the deserts from the earliest ages, and were the chief means of promoting commerce, before navigation and the directing quality of the magnetic needle were well understood.

44. *But rumours shall disturb him from the east and from the north.*—A great number of MSS. read יְבוֹחֻהוּ with the Masoretes, as also בִּחְמָה in the next clause with ח for א, which are probably right. Bp. Newton and Mr. Mede think that this and the next verse remain yet to be fulfilled. The Author of Revelation of St. John

therefore he shall go forth in great fury to destroy and
 45 devote to utter perdition many. And he shall fix the

Considered, has fixed on a remarkable event for this verse, and refers it to the victory of Amurath the IVth. in 1638, over the united forces of the Mengrelians, Georgians, and Circassian Tartars on the north, with the Persians on the east. "The Turk on the report of the union of these nations was apprehensive for his whole dominions; but collecting his forces he crossed the Euphrates, took the city of Bagdad by storm; and having made great havoc over the enemy, returned in triumph to Constantinople, being made complete master of the whole eastern empire." Appen. i. p. 467. Still however it is observable, that some of the words, such as לְהַחֲרִיב, Gr. *τοῦ ἀναθεματῖσαι*, "to devote to utter perdition," should incline us to think that the war alluded to would be undertaken on a religious account, and as the next verse is allowed by the same Author to be as yet uncompleted, we may readily conceive that both relate to nearly coeval events, and shall both hereafter have a signal accomplishment in the fortunes of the Jews.

45. *And he shall fix the tents of his pavilion between the seas.*—Gr. and Vulg. consider אֶפְדְּנו *Aphedno* as a proper name; Houkigant says, it is the name of a place on the mountains between the Caspian and Euxine seas. But it seems rather a Syriac appellative, which often occurs in the Talmud, and probably signifies little more than אֶזְלָל; so that the tents of his pavilion may mean "his chief or princely tents." The word occurs in Jonathan's Targum, Jerem. xliii. 10, where the Hebrew word that answers to it is שְׂפִירָיו, a word that in its original sense denotes the beauty and splendour that attends royalty: "to fix his royal military tent" seems to imply certain conquest and peaceable possession; "between the seas" must mean the seas near Jerusalem, probably the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean.

I have followed the Hebrew literally in the periphrasis of Mount Zion, or the mountainous country on which Jerusalem was built. See Ps. xcvi. 9 and ver. 41 of this Chapter. Here, that is, in the Holy Land, the Turk shall fix his encampments, and shall enjoy a temporary triumph: "But he shall come to his end," see Ezek. xxxix. 2, and Rev. xix. 20, 21, "and there shall be no helper." The powers of Russia and Persia united, according to an ancient tradition,

tents of his pavilion between the seas in the mountain of the glory of holiness ; yet he shall come to his end, and no one shall help him.

may probably prove fatal to the Ottoman empire ; and the fall of it we may expect to happen in the land of Judea, after the return of the people of Israel, that are now dispersed, into their own country : At least this conjecture has been favoured by writers of note. But when these things shall come to pass, or by what precise means, must be left for time to discover. The fortune of the Turk has doubtless been declining for some years ; in the end the ruin of the power that opposes the Church of Christ shall be certain and full ; and “ the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the depths of the sea.” Isa. xi. 9.

Though Calmet confines the latter part of this Prophecy to the persecutions of Antiochus against the Jews, yet he observes at the close of this Chapter, that Theodoret, St. Jerom, and many other interpreters, understand it of Antichrist ; that it is necessary to acknowledge that Antiochus Epiphanes is one of the most sensible and most expressive figures of this enemy of Jesus Christ, and that these things which the angel foretels of Antiochus, will receive a farther accomplishment before the end of the world.

CHAPTER XII.

- 1 MOREOVER at that time shall rise up Michael the great prince that standeth up for the children of thy people: then shall there be a time of trouble; such as never was since the existence of a nation until this time; and in this time shall the people escape, every
 2 one that is found written in the book. Then multi-

1. *Moreover at that time shall rise up Michael.*—The γ at the beginning of this Chapter connects it with the foregoing; and some would join this whole clause to the last verse of Chap. xi. and thus the sense would be, Though none should assist the Antichristian power, or that which was inimical to the church of God, yet Michael should stand up for thy people, to defend the cause of the Jews, and to destroy the enemies of the true religion.

—*then shall there be a time of trouble.*—When the Jews shall be restored, and the church delivered by the great Archangel who is peculiarly employed in embassies of this sort, there shall be such calamities as no nation hath ever before experienced, since men were formed into civil societies. Tribulations are often mentioned in Scripture as preceding extraordinary events, see Ezek. xxx. 2, 3, and especially as ushering in the kingdom of God, whether that kingdom relate to the first or second Advent of the Messiah. See Isai. viii. 22, Jerem. xxx. 7, Mat. xxiv. 21, at which last place an expression is used of like import with this of Daniel. This unusual and extraordinary time of trouble is supposed to correspond with that represented by St. John, to follow upon the pouring out of the seventh vial. Rev. xvi. 18. Yet the people of God shall escape.

—*every one that is found written in the book.*—Whosoever shall be registered or arranged in the class of the pious or faithful. At Ezek. ix. 4, the pious are said to be marked with a Thau in their foreheads, like the capital Chi of the Greeks: See Bp. Newcome on

tudes that sleep the dust of the ground shall awake, some to life everlasting, and others to reproaches, to

the place; see also Phil. iv. 3, Rev. iii. 5, and xx. 15, where the book is called the Book of Life. Rejoice, says our Lord to his disciples, Luke x. 20, that your names are *written* in heaven, that ye are enlisted under the banners of the Gospel, called the kingdom of heaven, and are thereby entitled to its present graces, and if you persevere with faith and constancy will be rewarded with its future glories.

2. *Then multitudes that sleep the dust of the ground shall awake*—This is a just and exact translation of the Hebrew; and if there were any doubts before, whether some of the verses immediately preceding should be extended beyond the times of Antiochus, I think this and the next verse must entirely remove them. Even Grotius, after Porphyry, allows a mystical sense to these words, so that they may be understood to point at a resurrection of the just and unjust; a doctrine firmly received by Christians, though in his opinion not to be revealed before the times of the Gospel. The Prophecy as we have seen was brought down to the restoration of Israel, and immediately thereupon proceeds to the general restoration or resurrection of all men, and the final judgment. The Jews themselves believed this doctrine, and had hopes therein founded on the promises of God to their fathers, Acts xxvi. 6, and there is no passage in the Old Testament that more strongly declares this truth than that before us, and which without great force can be applied to nothing else. “Nothing,” says Calmet, “is more express than these words to prove the resurrection of the dead, &c. This is the simple, literal, and natural sense of the place, and it can only be understood in a metaphorical sense of the Jews.”

It has long ago been observed, that the word רבים “multitudes,” ought to be considered as equivalent to “All.” So Rom. v. 15, 19. See also John v. 28, where our Saviour says, “*All* that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth,” &c. And Mr. Peters in his Dissert. on Job has justly observed, that “the *All* of our Saviour is in the judgment of the learned a good interpretation of the Prophet’s *Many*, and must have been esteemed so by those who heard Him speak the one passage, and were well acquainted with the other, its parallel.” The words ארבות-עפר are joined by a Makkaph

- 3 confusion everlasting. And those that have wisely instructed shall shine like the splendour of the firmament, and those that have made many righteous like

according to the Masora, and ought to be connected : The Versions render as with the preposition ב prefixed, but they should rather be considered as in apposition with the preceding participle, and are descriptive of the dead bodies of men. See Job. vii. 21, and xxi. 26. Some of these shall awake to life everlasting, and others to reproaches and confusion everlasting. Gr. *εις ονειδισμον και εις ασχυτην αιωνιον*. The word רָאוֹן is only used in this place, and Isa. lxvi. 24, the sense of the word there seems to be a kind of spectacle, shew, or nausea ; but the Targum renders by מַסָּה דְּזוּינָא “we have seen enough.” deriving from רִי sufficientia, and רָאָה videre ; and indeed one MS. reads דִּירָאוֹן, and another prefixes ו to the word as it stands in the present text. I know of no English word that answers to it better than “confusion.”

To this concise and energetic description of our future recompence, I will beg leave to subjoin by way of contrast the sensual and gross one of Mohammed, taken from the fourth Chapter of the Koran : “Verily those who disbelieve our signs, we will surely cast to be broiled in hell-fire ; so often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may take the sharper torment ; for God is mighty and wise. But those who believe, and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers ; therein shall they remain for ever, and there shall they enjoy wives free from all impurity ; and we will lead them into perpetual shades.” And again, in Chap. xxxvi. “they and their wives shall rest in shady groves, leaning on magnificent couches ; there shall they have fruit, and obtain whatever they shall desire.”

3. *And those that have wisely instructed shall shine like the splendor of the firmament.*—Or, as the Heavens adorned with the sun and the other glorious lights. In the Hebrew the first word is the same participle as at Chap. xi. 33, and the whole verse seems intended as an encouragement to those teachers especially, who were to fall and suffer such distresses as in the fore-mentioned passage are described. Cappellus observes of the two clauses of this verse, that one member is *εξηγητικόν*, or explanatory of the other : The splendor of the firmament and the splendor of the stars is the same ; and those that have

- 4 the stars for ever and ever. But thou, Daniel, close the words, and seal up the book, until the time of the end: when many shall have searched diligently, and knowledge shall be increased."

taught, and those that have justified many, must mean those, that either by teaching, or by good living, have shewed the way to righteousness and life eternal. The Judge of all the earth will certainly do right: He hath given the fullest assurance that there is a reward for the righteous; and it is certain that this reward will be augmented in proportion as men have been more extensively useful, or have advanced the real and best interest of their fellow-creatures. In the last verse the reward and the punishment are expressed generally as to their degree, and merely said to be perpetual in their duration; in this they are exalted to the highest pitch of distinction in their degree, and their duration is pointed out in the strongest form of expressing eternity. Vulg. in perpetuas æternitates. Gr. *eis tous aionas kai eri.* The design of which is to convince the eminently virtuous that they are in a more especial manner the favourites of heaven, and may with greater confidence expect their reward. The glories of the future world are adumbrated in Scripture by the loftiest and most splendid images in this; but after all so inadequate is language, and so inferior the conceptions of the human mind to this great subject, that the finest description of the joys of eternity is that negative one of St. Paul, which he hath in some measure borrowed from Isaiah, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." See Bishop Lowth on Isa. lxiv. 4.

4. *But thou, Daniel, close the words, and seal up the book, until the time of the end.*—See Chap. viii. 26, and x. 1. The accomplishment of the events is distant, and therefore not to be prematurely and rashly searched into; the writing of truth is finished, and the book that contains it directed to be closed, so that its sense must remain concealed till time shall unfold and discover it; "till the time of the end:" One MS. inverts the order of these words, and reads "till the end of time." Gr. *eos kaiρου συντελειας.* At Rev. xxii. 10, St. John is ordered, not to seal the sayings of the Prophecy of that Book, since "the time was at hand," some of the predictions were near their accomplishment.

—when many shall have searched diligently, and knowledge shall be

- 5 Now I Daniel was seeing, when behold there were two others standing, one on this side at the bank of the river, and the other on that side at the bank of the
6 river : Which said to the man clothed with linen who was over the waters of the river, " At how great a

increased."—One MS. reads the first verb with Vau instead of Jod ויִּשְׁמַע; and Gr. has εως διδαχθωσι πολλοι και πληθυνθη η γνωσις, which is nearly the sense that I have given the words. One cannot help observing here the analogy between God's word and his works : Not only the operations of nature have been unravelled, but every useful art and invention traced out and brought to perfection by the continued labour and successive industry of men. And the like gradual process must be observable with respect to the word of God : In its early communication it was wrapt up in mystery, and surrounded with obscurity, for this among other purposes, to excite the attentive observation of men and engage their diligence ; so that by affording proper employment for our active spirits it may serve to train and habituate them to that temper and frame, which will be a suitable qualification for them in the future world ; where we shall be continually exercised in improving acts of devotion and praise, and be making constant advances in knowledge, goodness, and happiness.

5. *Now I Daniel was seeing, when behold there were two others.*—Two other angels stood one on each side (Heb. Lip) of the river Hiddekel or Tigris, Chap. x. 4, 5, and were attendants on that superior one that appeared there in so bright and glorious a form. Gabriel had finished his narrative, and what now follows seems added by way of illustration. Some will have the two other angels to be the guardians of Persia and Greece, and contend from thence that those two empires are the only ones concerned in the preceding Scripture of truth : They were doubtless the principal ones, and their representatives may therefore be alluded to in the passage before us ; but it should be remembered that the Roman power was of very small note at the time this prophecy was delivered, and therefore not worthy to be distinguished by a peculiar protector ; but nothing certain or decisive can be deduced from reasonings of this sort.

6. *Which said to the man clothed with linen who was over the waters.*—Heb. " And he spoke ;" i. e. one of the angels ; but Syr. Ar. Copt. Alex. and some other of the Greek copies read, και ειπον with Vulg,

distance will be the end of these marvellous things?"

- 7 And I heard the man clothed in linen who was over the waters of the river, when he had lifted up his right hand and his left hand towards the heavens, and sworn by him that liveth for ever, that it would be for

דַּנִּיֵּאל, and I spoke, meaning Daniel, to the man clothed with linen, Chap. x. 5, "who was above the waters," so the Versions. See Ps. xxix. 10, Matt. xiv. 25, and Rev. x. 2. The inferior angel inquires of the superior after the distant end of these events. One MS. reads לִקְיָא, How long to the end?

7. *And I heard the man—when he had lifted up his right hand, and his left hand towards the heavens, and sworn.*—This mode of swearing by lifting up the hand is often mentioned in the Old Testament. See Gen. xiv. 22, and Deut. xxxii. 40, and the holding or lifting up both hands toward heaven is an indication of the greater truth and solemnity of what was to be declared. He swore "by him that liveth for ever." Three MSS. read בְּחַיֵּי "by the life of eternity," which will amount to the same sense with בְּחַיֵּי "by Him that liveth for ever." And the expression is parallel with that at the 5th and 6th verses of the tenth Chapter of Revelations: where the mighty angel that appeared with his right foot on the sea, and his left on the earth, and swore by Him that liveth for ever and ever, is Christ; and from whence it is probable that the same Divine Person is also here meant.

—*that it would be for a time, times and a half.*—See on Chap. vii. 25. It is there "for a time and times and the dividing of a time:" The word in the Chald. is עֵרָן both at Chapters vii. and iv, which seems to be the Heb. עֵרָא, with א changed into its kindred letter ר, and the final ך added. But the word in this place is מוֹעֵד, and hence we may conclude that עֵרָא and מוֹעֵד like the Greek *καιρος* and *χρονος* are often used in the same precise sense. Yet מוֹעֵד strictly signifies "an appointed or limited portion of time," and hence any solemn term or festival according to its annual recurrence. Instances occur in all languages, where by an usual Synecdoche the summer, the harvest, or the winter, is used for a year, and thus any solemnity, as the Passover, or the great day of expiation, may have been considered as intimating the same term, so that by so many

a time, times, and a half; and after the accomplishment

Passovers may have been understood such a number of years: And thence the word that is expressive of every sort of festival may be readily conceived to have been used for that space of time in which every one usually returns. Grotius tells us that the word *χρονoi* is often used for years by way of excellence among the Greeks, and I am inclined to think he may be readily believed, though he produces no examples of it. It seems, however, very probable that this is the sense of the word in the parable, Luke xx. 9. A certain man planted a vineyard, and let it out to husbandmen, and removed into a distant country, *χρονους ικανους*, a suitable number of years. Then it follows, *Και εν τω καιρω*, "and at the season" he sent a servant to the husbandmen for the fruit or produce of the vineyard, whom they ill treated and sent away empty: Then he sent another servant, from his distant residence, and therefore probably at the next season; And he afterwards sent a third, &c. Thus from the drift of the parable, and the return of the seasons, the proper sense of the word *χρονους* seems here to be "years." The like seems to be the sense of the term at Luke viii. 27, where we read that the man had been possessed with devils *εκ χρονων ικανων* "for a number of years:" And that this sense is to be preferred may be learnt from other passages, especially in the Acts of the Apostles, where the singular number is used, *ικανον χρονον*, when the expression relates to time in general. See Acts viii. 11, and xiv. 3, &c.

The like usage is also observable in profane writers; and thus Herodian speaking of the residence of Severus at Rome, after his return from his conquests, uses the same expression, *διατριψας ικανους χρονους εν τη Ρωμη*, and the acts that he is recorded by this historian to have done there must have employed him several years. Herod. lib. iii. §. 27, Ed. Oxon. 1678. Plutarch also in his treatise on Educ. tom. vi. p. 36, Ed. Reiske, says, *εν δεσμοτηριω πολλους κατεσαπη χρονους*, "he pined away many years in prison." Suicer also gives it this sense in his Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus; He quotes Hist. Concil. Florent. Sect. xi. cap. vii. p. 5, *χρονοι παρηλθον εγγυς τριακοντα*; and observes that Sedulius, carm. Pasch. lib. i. has used "tempora" in the same sense,

septenaque tempora lustrans,
Omnibus hirsutus sylvis et montibus errat.

of the dispersions of the holy people, all these things shall be fulfilled.

Mill likewise in his Gr. Test. Ed. Kuster, at the end of St. Mark, points at some MSS. as noting that this Gospel was written *μετα χρονους δεκα της του Χριστου αναληψεως*, and others that it was written *μετα ετη ιβ της του Χριστου αναληψεως*. For these two last authorities I am obliged to a very kind and friendly letter from the present Bishop of Waterford. It has also been suggested to me, that the word *χρονος* seems used by Pindar for a set portion of time. *Ολον δ' επειτ' αν χρονον τον εθαμβεεν Αρτεμυς*. Nem. iii. 86. And in Phavorinus' Lexicon it is expressly interpreted to mean *a year*. *Χρονος λεγεται, η τε ηλιου κωησις απο του αυτου εις το αυτο, και ενιαυτος και ετος*. Moreover to all these considerations we may add the testimony of Josephus who interprets "the times" as "years," and also that of the fathers. And indeed from a comparison of the passage with those parallel ones in the Revelations, there can be no doubt but that the space meant is three years and a half, or forty and two months, or 1260 days, reckoning twelve months to a year, and thirty days to a month. That these days are to be considered as so many years, see what has been noted on Chap. vii. 25, and Chap. viii. 14, &c.

—*and after the accomplishment of the dispersions.*—Gr. of Th. has not the words that follow *יד עם קדש the power, or band, of the people of holiness*. Two MSS. drop *יד*. Mr. Dimock suggests, that we should read *העם קדש*; perhaps the true reading is *נפצי העם קדש וככלות* "and after the accomplishment of the dispersions of the holy people." *Αλλ.* in Hexap. inserts after these words, *γνωσονται αγιον, και*—but there is no authority for this in the Hebrew.

Mr. Lowth has recounted a number of passages in the Prophets, which indicate the restoration of the Jews in the latter days, or when the fourth monarchy shall expire; And the Apostle St. Paul tells us expressly, "that blindness in part," only, "hath happened unto Israel," and this, "till the fulness of the Gentiles be come in." Rom. xi. 25, see also Luke xxi. 24. At this decisive period, or after the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist, and the addition of another short term for the restoration of the Jews, will be the end of these wonders or marvellous things inquired after in the last verse. The greatest difficulty seems now to be to ascertain the exact commencement of them, which I suspect will be in vain to attempt till after the

- 8 But when I heard I did not understand; wherefore I
 said, "O my Lord, what is the latter end of these
 9 things?" Then he said, "Go, Daniel, for the words
 are closed and sealed up even to the time of the end.
 10 Many shall be purified and made white and proved;

full completion. However the reader may find attempts of this sort in several of the writers cited in this and the foregoing Chapters.

8. *But when I heard, I did not understand.*—The full discovery was not made to the Prophet, but reserved for future ages, till time should bring it to light. The question that follows, "What is the latter end of these things?" alludes to the like expression having been used in the preceding parts of this book, and especially at Chap. x. 14. The inquiry is checked at the next verse, and an intimation given, that it is not so much for the use of the present as of future ages, that this revelation is made. The Prophecy is of distant reference and interpretation; it is necessary therefore, that it should be involved in obscurity. What is delivered may satisfy the minds of the pious and faithful; but it is not meant that the curious should be gratified, that human pride should be indulged, or that the counsels of God should be made subservient to the ambition of princes, or any sinister designs of man.

10. —*Many shall be purified and made white and proved.*—See Chap. xi. 35, where the same verbs are found but in different order. Prof. Michaelis supposes צָרַף to be a general term, descriptive of the fusion or melting of the metal, בָּרַר to relate to the pure metal or the purification of it, and that דִּלְבֵּן refers to the dross or the vitrescent parts; and the meaning he thinks is, many shall be tried by fire, and become either pure silver, or dross. See his Supplem. on לָבֵן. But with all due deference to so great and learned a critic, I cannot help suggesting, that the order of the words in this verse appears to militate with this ingenious interpretation, where the verb צָרַף which he uses for *melting* is last. I rather think that the words are adopted as of general and ordinary use; or if we would ascertain their import, that the former word is borrowed from wheat which is cleansed from the chaff; the second from cloth which is whitened by the fuller; and the third from goldsmiths, who try and essay the metal, and separate it from the dross;

fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum. Ovid

yet the wicked will do wickedly ; but though none of
 * the wicked will attend, those of understanding shall
 11 attend. Now from the time that the daily sacrifice

And I would refer the whole to the righteous, who shall be cleansed by various tribulations and trials ; but the like discipline shall have no effect on the wicked ; see Rev. xxii. 11, their wickedness will blind their hearts, so that they shall not understand or attend to these predictions, which the prudent, or those of a wise and good heart, shall understand, shall be fully instructed in themselves, and so as to be able to teach them to others. For the sense of this participle *וְהַמְשַׁכְּלִים* see on ver. 3, and Chap. xi. 33.

In the essay before cited Mr. Amner has some very sensible and useful observations on this verse, as well as many ingenious reflections on other parts of the Prophecy of these two last Chapters. But his plan of referring and confining the whole of Daniel's Prophecies altogether to the times of Epiphanes, to say no more of it, seems quite repugnant to the general scheme and manner of this Prophet ; who is so close, comprehensive, and concise, in every part, that, according to one of the ancient Commentators, " his words are equal to sentences ; and he often intimates more than he speaks, contracting in a very small compass of language even the most august mysteries." Some of his predictions had doubtless a reference to Antiochus, who perhaps, like Pharaoh, may be said to have been raised up to fulfil the designs of Providence, to be an exemplary type and early illustration of those prophecies, that were afterwards to be fulfilled in a more ample and wonderful manner : And it appears to me in the Vision before us, I mean in the latter part of it, that the Prophet or Angel is so engaged in the prospect of the distant arrangement, that the original reference to Antiochus seems quite deserted and forgotten, and the language incapable of being applied without much force to any other than the times subsequent to the establishment of the Church of Christ ; and this 10th verse whatever regard it might have to particular times, seems strongly to allude to that probation and discipline, which the saints of God will generally experience, in order to prepare and qualify them for the enjoyment of their future and final inheritance.

11. *Now from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be removed—shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days.*—See on Chap. viii. 14,

shall be removed, to set up the abomination of desolation, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety

One MS. omits the *Vau* before לָתֵת, “*even* for the setting up:” So Syr. Copt. has 2290 days, which is probably a mistake. The language is borrowed from the service in the Jewish temple, and applicable to the church of God in a variety of states and forms: That it is here particularly meant to have its illustration during the times of the Christian church must be evident, not only from the whole series of the foregoing remarks, but because the days cannot be taken in their strict sense, but must be understood for so many years. That the days cannot be taken for so many diurnal spaces, Mr. Mede has shewn in a very full method, by demonstrating from history that the events to which they are usually referred do not correspond with the numbers specified in this or the next verse: For from the abominations introduced by Antiochus to the indulgence or the *Αυτονομία* granted to the Jews, 2 Mac. xi. 27, instead of 1290 days were not more than 1200 days, not to say that this diploma was granted by Eupator the son of Antiochus, and not by the father himself, to whom it is commonly attributed; and before this time Antiochus died, so that the 1335 days cannot be referred to his death, which the advocates for this exposition pretend. Indeed the space between the death of the father and the edict in favour of the Jews by the son appears to be not more than 13 or 14 days, and by no sort of construction can be extended to 45, the difference betwixt 1290 and 1335. By the days then must evidently be meant years, according to the usual acceptation of the term by this and some of the other Prophets. Mr. Mede reckons the years from the time of Antiochus, before Christ an. 167, and brings us down to the 12th century, when the usurpations of Antichrist were protested against by the Waldenses, Albigenses, and others, and his character was publicly declared and attributed to the papacy; and between the years 1123 and 1168 (a space of 45 years) a great secession was made from the dominion of the Pope; and thus he thinks the Prophecy was unfolded and laid open. It is observable likewise that the same learned writer fixes the first of the above periods in the first year of the Roman Indiction LIV, and at three full Indictions afterwards, or in the beginning of LVII, commences the second period.

But there is no necessity to confine the words at the former part of

12 days. Blessed is he that with patient expectation reacheth the days a thousand three hundred thirty and

the verse to the impiety and sacrilege of Antiochus, on which interpretation Mr. Mede seems chiefly to found his argument. The whole passage seems rather to refer to the Christian church, both as to the commencement as well as the termination of the enmity. And though the reign of Antichrist seems here fixed for 1290 years, which is a term of 30 years more than was mentioned at ver. 7, and Chap. vii. 25, this excess in the opinion of some is the time allotted for the collecting of the Jews from their captivity among all nations, or the several countries of their dispersion; and at the close of ver. 7, there does seem to be a farther period alluded to *for this purpose*, after the time, times, and a half, or the 1260 years. The extension of the term still farther in the next verse to 1335 years may be allotted for a variety of purposes, which the Jews will accomplish in their own country after their recal, in order to their full and quiet settlement in the promised land: Possibly the erection of a temple may be alluded to, which is said to have been forty and six years in building in the time of Herod. Others think, and with much reason, that the whole surplus of 75 years is included within the times of the 7th trumpet, Rev. xi. 15, when Christ's church shall triumph over all opposition, and he will destroy those that have corrupted and destroyed a great part of the world. "It is, I conceive," says Bp. Newton, "to these great events, the fall of Antichrist, the re-establishment of the Jews, and the beginning of the glorious Millennium, that the three different dates in Daniel of 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years, are to be referred," Dis. xxvi. p. 387. But whether the last date is to commence with the former, or not to have its beginning till those are ended, is still amongst the hidden mysteries of providence. Yet I am inclined to think that we must not look for the full completion of the prophecy till the latter ages of the world, till that period approaches, when the kingdoms of the earth shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever. In the mean time we must be contented to remain in ignorance, and leave the illustration of these wonders till their full accomplishment, when we are sure the kingdom of Antichrist, and of every thing that opposeth itself, will be destroyed, and that of the Messiah be fully established in general tranquillity, peace, and holiness.

12. *Blessed is he that with patient expectation reacheth the days*

13 five. But go thou, and to the end be at rest; for thou shalt stand up for thy lot at the end of the days."

1335.—When the kingdom of Christ shall be full, and they that have patiently waited for its completion, shall begin to enjoy its blessed rewards. See Rev. xx. 4.

13. *But go thou, and to the end be at rest; for thou shalt stand up for thy lot &c.*—The Prophet had been making inquiries after the end of these wonders; the Angel had given him all the information that was needful either for himself or future times, and with this he dismisses him, subjoining at the same time a short epitome of his own fate; that, as he was now far advanced in life, he must expect soon to retire from this world; that he should rest in peace to the time of the end, when he should again be raised up, and restored to life, and receive his final allotment from his righteous Judge, before whom he should stand in judgment at the last day, or at the end of days.

Two or three MSS. read הַיָּמִים instead of the final י, Ar. renders, thou shalt rise again to thy inheritance: the word *Lot* must here be understood in a good sense, that the Prophet should be ranked among the blessed, and partake of the heavenly inheritance, when the mystery of God shall be perfected. But MS. Pachom. instead of κληρον reads καιρον. After the word "be at rest," the Gr. interpreter inserts this clause, ἐτι γαρ ημεραι και ωραι εις αναπληρωσιν συντελειας, and so Arab. The expression seems to indicate a long space of time; or perhaps till days and hours shall cease. See on Chap. x. 14

INDEX

OF TEXTS OR PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE

OCCASIONALLY ILLUSTRATED.

CHAP.		PAGE.	CHAP.		PAGE.
	GENESIS.			MATTHEW.	
xli. 41	.	96	i. 11, 12	.	4
xliii. 25, 31	.	79	xxiv. 15	.	161
	EXODUS.		xxvii. 7	.	167
v. 19	.	137	— 60—66	.	101
	NUMBERS.			LUKE.	
xvi. 5	.	117	i. 28	.	157
	2 KINGS.		viii. 27	.	232
v.	.	91	xii. 46	.	21
	JOB.		xx. 9	.	232
xxxix. 5	.	87		JOHN.	
	PSALMS.		viii. 56	.	xiv
ix. 20	.	109	xiii. 1	.	54
lxix. 10	.	182		ACTS.	
lxxx. 8	.	153	xvii. 23	.	218
— 15	.	154		1 CORINTHIANS.	
cix. 6	.	69	iv. 3	.	141
cxxx.	.	xxxvi	vii. 25	.	51
cxix. 11, 12	.	xxxiv	xiii. 12	.	xiii
	PROVERBS.			1 THESSALONIANS.	
vii. 16	.	16	ii. 16	.	168
xxii. 29	.	v		2 THESSALONIANS.	
	ISAIAH.		ii. 4	.	120
xi. 1	.	41	— 9, 10	.	113
— 9	.	225		2 TIMOTHY.	
xxiv. 21	.	136	iii. 16	.	lxiii
xlii. 15	.	200	iv. 17	.	104
xlvi. 1	.	162		PHILEMON.	
liii. 9	.	102	iv. 12	.	10
	JEREMIAH.			HEBREWS.	
xxx. 21	.	117	xi. 27	.	21
	EZEKIEL.		— 33	.	104
xi. 3	.	181		REVELATIONS.	
xxvii.	.	vii	xiv. 8	.	116
	OBADIAH.		xix. 10	.	xiv
xxvii. 4	.	135	xx. 4, 6	.	121
	NAHUM.				
iii. 8	.	223			
	ZECHARIAH.				
ii. 4, 5	.	165			

INDEX OF PERSONS.

- Abarbanel, xi
 Aben-Ezra, 36
 Abraham, 57, 176
 Abulfarage, 164
 Abydenus, 77
 Æschylus, xxv, 188
 Abasuerus, xlviii, 149, 188
 Alexander, x, 34, 38, 54, 76, 111, 130, 143, 189, 190
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 45, 72, 130
 Amner, 216, 235
 Antiochus Magnus, 38, 195—201,
 ——— Epiphanes, x, l. lii, 49, 113, 135—145, 203—208, 225
 Appian, 34, 91, 133, 145, 190, 198, 202
 Aquila, x, xv, 6, 56, 127, 138, 166, 179, 210
 Arias Montanus, 110
 Aristotle, 110, 194
 Arrian, 34, 38, 102, 133, 189
 Artaxerxes Longimanus, 164, 174, 188
 Astyages, xviii, xxii, 18, 77, 93, 149
 Athenæus, 48, 54, 203, 217
 Aurelius Victor, 202
 Ausonius, xix
 Bahrdt, 6, 101, 114, 210, 215
 Banier, xxiv, xxv, xxvii
 Belshazzar, iv, xvi, 16, 78—91, 107, 127
 Benjamin of Tudela, vi, 128
 Berosus, xxvii, 65, 73, 75, 78, 191
 Beveridge, xlv, xlvii
 Blair xxix, 4
 Blayney, iii, 20, 127, 164, 179
 Bochart, 5, 29, 48, 72, 87, 102, 179, 209, 220
 Bruce, xlv, 16, 21, 25, 32, 49, 51, 65, 72, 82, 103, 179, 223
 Burney, 49
 Buxtorf, xlix, 13, 35, 88, 138, 202
 Cæsar Julius, liii, 19
 ——— Augustus, 72, 98
 Callimachus, 98
 Calmet, 9, 49, 65, 90, 126, 163, 179, 193, 210, 225, 227
 Calovius, xi, 37
 Calvin, 74
 Cambyses, xviii, xxi, xxv, 33, 130, 182, 188, 192
 Castalio, 11
 Castell, 6, 18, 22, 36, 45, 48, 50, 66, 75, 102, 123, 186, 191, 200
 Cappellus, xlviii, 123, 125, 128, 130, 131, 141, 168, 228
 Chandler Bp., x, xviii, lvi, 6, 47, 49, 117, 130
 ——— Dr. Samuel, lvi
 Chardin, 72, 84, 91,
 Cheseaux, 1
 Chrysostom, liii, 48, 124, 157
 Cicero, xix, xxi, xxv, xlv, 19, 109, 215
 Clarke, xxxii, 114
 Claudian, 33
 Clavigero, 152
 Codomannus, 91, 130, 132, 187
 Cetesias, xviii, xxi, xxii, xlviii, 16
 Cumberland, 194
 Curtius, 19, 34, 79, 130, 132, 189
 Cush, 15, 223
 Cyaxares, xviii, xx, 90, 95, 96, 149
 Cyrus, iv, xvi, 13, 33, 77, 90—96, 101, 106, 130, 160—162, 176, 182, 187
 Daniel, iii, 1
 D'Anville, 45
 Darius Medus, iv, xvi, 58, 82, 90, 92, 106, 149, 159, 175, 186
 ——— Hystaspes, xlviii, 96, 130, 162, 164, 188
 Dathius, 8, 22, 32, 126, 160
 David, vii, xxxvii, 21, 177, 209
 De Dieu, 24, 71
 D'Herbelot, 56, 106, 164
 De Rossi, xlii, 6, 42, 85, 103, 110, 154, 166, 184, 188
 Dicæarchus, 194
 Dimock, xlii, 139, 150, 215, 216, 233
 Diodorus Sic., xviii, xix, xlviii, 18, 44, 72, 73, 100, 132, 134, 144
 Diogenes Laert., xix, 66
 Dion Cassius, 104
 Dionysius Halicar., xix, 38
 Drusius, 49
 Eichhorn, xxxvii, xlii, lviii
 Elias, lvi, 49

- Ellis, 49
 Ephræm Syrus, lvii, 56, 66
 Epiphanius, vi
 Eratosthenes, 194
 Esarhaddon, 17
 Eusebius, ix, xii, xxxiii, 77, 179, 191
 Ezekiel, v, vii, xxii, xxxi, 126, 129, 181, 221
 Ezra, vi, 20, 164
 Florus, 144
 Ford, xlii
 Freret, xxx
 Gebelin, 14
 Geddes, xxxix, xl
 Glassius, 52, 139
 Godwin, 52, 65, 143, 147, 159
 Grotius, 22, 35, 45, 46, 48, 62, 69, 82, 83, 86, 99, 107, 114, 133, 137, 145, 146, 157, 163, 182, 208, 216, 227, 232
 Habesci, 46
 Halifax, x, lix
 Hammond, 134
 Harmer, 11, 42, 49, 79, 84, 91
 Herodian, 232
 Herodotus, xvii, xlviii, 9, 15, 16, 23, 34, 45, 63, 72, 73, 79, 90, 92, 94, 130, 188
 Hesiod, 31
 Hezekiah, 17, 71, 89
 Hermes, liv
 Homer, viii, xxxii, 19, 34, 62, 66
 Horace, xxviii, 47, 63, 82, 98, 117
 Houbigant, 7, 10, 12, 18, 24, 25, 29, 31, 44, 46, 85, 89, 101, 103, 110, 123, 128, 150, 156, 160, 167, 172, 183, 184, 192, 212
 Howes, xxvii, 4
 Hurd, 30, 219
 Hutchinson, 95
 Hyde, 61
 Jacchiades, xi, 28, 40, 46, 113
 Jackson, xxii, xlviii, 15, 34, 74
 Jehoiaikim, xxix, 2, 5, 76
 Jeremiah, iii, xxii, 20, 76, 149, 158, 174
 Jerom, ix, x, xix, xxiv, liv, lvii, 5, 25, 38, 40, 45, 50, 56, 79, 93, 110, 113, 192, 202, 223, 225
 Jethro, 79
 Johnson, 175
 Jonathan ben Uzziel, lv, lvi, 118
 Jortin, lix, lx
 Josephus, iii, vi, x, xi, xii, xix, xxiii, xxviii, 2, 21, 30, 39, 48, 73, 93, 102, 124, 144, 145, 165, 168, 170, 172, 173, 185, 191, 198, 202, 209, 233
 Isaac, R., 116
 Isalah, ii, xxi, xxiii, 161, 167
 Isocrates, xxi
 Judith, 17, 90
 Junius, 139, 182
 Justin, xix, xxii, 130, 189, 192
 Justinian, 89
 Juvenal, 19, 34
 Kennicott, xv, xlii, 20, 50, 103, 154, 162, 188
 Kidder, 171
 Kimchi, 29, 138, 214
 Lardner, ix, x, lvii, lxi
 Le Clerc, 8
 L'Empereur, 49
 Livy, 22, 144, 189, 198, 209
 Lloyd, 122, 158, 165, 166, 168
 Longinus, xxxv
 Lowman, 220
 Lowth, Bp., ii, xii, xv, xxiii, xxxii, xl, 15, 18, 29, 31, 63, 79, 92, 121, 148, 151, 161, 179, 222, 229
 Lowth, Mr., 23, 29, 81, 95, 124, 127, 139, 142, 156, 172, 182, 184, 192
 Lucan, 223
 Lucian, 98
 Machiavel, 122
 Maimonides, xl
 Marshall, xlvii, 165
 Marsham, viii, xlvii
 Mede, 35, 39, 41, 116, 122, 140, 143, 144, 163, 173, 213, 215, 217, 220, 222, 223, 224, 236
 Megasthenes, 75, 109, 191
 Michaelis, H., xli, 21, 48, 49, 82, 114, 133, 137, 141
 ——— J. D., xli, lviii, 9, 12, 14, 20, 45, 93, 109, 119, 145, 147, 156, 172, 200, 209, 234
 Milton, viii, 89
 Mohammed, 42, 51, 89, 220, 228
 Montesquieu, 16
 Montfaucon, 21, 54, 97
 Moses, xxxviii, 7, 99, 126, 152
 Munster, xiv, 56, 142
 Nabonadius, xvi, xxii, xxviii, 78, 79
 Nabonassar, xxix, xlvii, 4, 16, 112
 Nathan, R., 46
 Nebuchadnezzar, iv, xvi, 2, 14, 18, 33, 56, 59, 65, 71, 74, 75, 86, 107, 109
 Nehemiah, vi, 164, 165, 174
 Newcome, iii, xl, 5, 8, 63, 164, 182, 221, 222, 226, 233
 Newton, Bp., 35, 92, 121, 131, 141, 189, 193, 210, 214, 215, 217, 220, 222, 223, 237
 ———, Sir Isaac, xii, xiv, 16, 32, 90, 94, 113, 122, 132, 134, 141, 217
 Niebuhr, 44
 Nimrod, 15, 72
 Ninus, 16, 33
 Nitocris, 73, 77, 83
 Noldius, 10, 14, 23, 31, 61, 75, 108, 119, 151, 181, 184, 216
 Onkelos, lv
 Origen, ix, xii, liv, 64, 66, 179

- Orpheus, 21
 Ovid, 48, 65, 129, 234
 Pachomius, xli
 Paley, 169
 Patereulus, 144
 Patrick, xxxvii
 Pearson, 62
 Petavius, xlv, 158
 Peters, v, 68, 227
 Phavorinus, 233
 Philip Aridæus, 38, 132
 Philostratus, 173
 Pindar, 233
 Plato, xix, xx, 34
 Plantus, 8
 Pliny, xxiii, 5, 11, 64, 72, 90, 98, 128, 129
 Plutarch, xix, 232
 Polybius, 40, 49, 82, 90, 134, 144, 192, 195, 196, 203, 217
 Poole, xlviii, 9, 35
 Pope, 48
 Porphyry, ix, x, 113, 216, 227
 Prideaux, vi, xv, xix, xxvi, xlviii, lii, lvi, 4, 44, 61, 83, 90, 92, 95, 134, 144, 146, 158, 164, 166, 170, 188, 189, 190, 192, 203
 Procopius, 130
 Prudentius, 173
 Ptolemy, see Kings of Egypt
 — the astronomer, xvii, 17, 18, 38, 45, 77, 78, 95, 149, 158
 Purver, 36, 50, 54, 142, 163, 174, 182
 Randolph, liv
 Russell, 47
 Saadias, 21, 36
 Sale, 57
 Sanconiatho, 194
 Scaliger, vi, xix, xxv, xlv, 77
 Secker, xvii, xxvii, xli, 13, 21, 34, 35, 37, 41, 48, 49, 56, 58, 61, 64, 67, 81, 91, 93, 98, 102, 112, 114, 128, 132, 133, 135, 137, 141, 143, 144, 146, 149, 175
 Sedulius, 232
 Selim, 221, 222
 Seleucus, see Kings of Syria
 Semiramis, vii, xlviii, 16, 72
 Seneca, xix
 Servius, 48
 Shaw, 43, 47, 48, 49, 51, 55, 99, 103
 Socrates, xxiv, 19
 Solomon, v, viii, xlvii, 16, 81
 Spencer, 136, 163
 Strabo, xx, 18, 20, 33, 57, 93, 109
 Strauchius, xlv, xlvii
 Suetonius, 72
 Suicer, 232
 Suidas, 94, 194
 Sulpicius Severus, xxi, 21, 38
 Symmachus, x, 6, 29, 44, 53, 127, 138, 140, 157, 166
 Tacitus, 37, 104, 171
 Taylor, 61, 64, 153
 Tertullian, liii, 74, 104
 Thales, 13
 Theodoret, xxxvi, 38, 41, 43, 66, 67, 108, 126, 127, 128, 131, 136, 147, 225
 Theodotion, x, xv, liv, lxiv, 6, 59, 108, 127, 146, 167
 Thevenot, 65
 Thucydides, xxii, xlix, 94
 Titus, 163, 171, 173, 211
 Tremellius, 139, 182
 Trogus Pompeius, xxv
 Valerius Max. 22
 Varro, 163
 Valesius, liii
 Vatablus, 167
 Vignoles, xviii, xx, xxii, 4, 34, 149
 Virgil, viii, 11, 57, 60, 62, 68, 82, 87, 90, 98, 108, 168
 Usher, xix, xxvi, liii, 95, 96, 158, 192
 Vitringa, 135, 209
 Vossius, xix, li
 Walton, vi, 20, 100
 Warburton, 71
 Wetstein, 99
 Wicliff, 167
 Woide, xlii
 Xenophon, xvii, 6, 55, 78, 79, 80, 90, 92, 94
 Xerxes, 44, 63, 93, 130, 188
 Zedekiah, iv, 76
 Zeno, 209

INDEX OF THINGS.

- Additions in Greek of Th. 58. 62, 88,
103, 119, 122, 137, 151, 191, 214,
238
—— in MS. Alex. 57, 81
—— in Syr. 70, 87, 98
—— in MSS. 50, 71, 83, 85, 101,
159, 166, 176, 178, 182, 210
Address, modes of, 103, 184
Æra, xlv, 134, 190, 206
Algerines, 43
Allegory, 34, 63, 154
Alexander, his history, 34, 111, 130,
189
—— first King of Ion, or Greece,
143
—— his death, 133
—— his relations and successors,
131, 134
Ammonites, 221
Analogy, ii, 230
Angel, 56, 63, 182, 185
—— of the Covenant, 63, 179
Anthropopathia, xxxiii, 155, 183
Antichrist, 118, 121, 125, 141, 148,
214, 215, 219, 220, 225, 233, 236
Ancient Chaldee, or Aramean language,
20, 127
—— very dif-
ferent from Hebrew, xxx
Ancient of Days, 113, 121
Antiochus, Type of Antichrist, 136, 138
—— his History, Character, &c.
135—140, 146, 203, 208, 235
Apocope, 35, 75, 104
Apostasy, 160, 211
Arms of the South, 198, 204
Assyria, see Babylon
Astyages, not Dar. Med. xxii
Αυτονομία, 236
Babylon, vi, 15—18, 92
—— its extent or greatness, 33, 72,
109
—— period of its empire, 33, 90, 91
—— no traces of it, 92
Babylonians, their excess, 79
Balance, 89
Battles, 195, 201, 208
Bear, 110
Bel, xxii, 44
Belshazzar, who, 78, 89
—— his impiety, 81
Brass and iron, emblems of strength
and terror, 35
Bread, 79
Buffalo, 64, 65
Canon of Ptolemy, xvii, xxiii, xxvii,
15, 17, 158, 176, 187
—— of Scripture, xv, liv
Captivity, its commencement, 4
—— its period, 149, 158, 159
Celibacy, 215
Chaldeans or Chasdim, vi, 18
Chaldaisms, 26, 36, 70, 119
Chethubim, xv
Chittim, 208
Chronology, xlv
Climax, 57, 201
Cod. Chis. cited, xxv, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14,
21, 45, 55, 59, 63, 66, 80, 105, 192,
209, 215, 217, 222, 223
Collective sing for plur. 33, 126, 192
Collation of MSS. and Versions, 157
Coptic Version cited, 67, 79, 81, 88,
108, 140, 143, 145, 156, 167, 177,
183, 214, 230, 236
Cushites, 223
Cyropædia, xix, 92, 95, 96, 111
Cyrus, not Darius Med. xxvii
Daniel, Life and Character, iii—vi
—— Book, its Language, vi—ix
—— Prophetical Part, ix—xvii
—— Historical Part, xvii—xxix
—— its Style, xxx—xxxix
—— Objections considered and re-
futed, lv
—— a type of Christ's burial, 102
—— forgeries attributed to him, lvii,
56
Darc, 94
Darius Med. the Cyaxares of Xenophon,
xxix
Days, numbers of, 139, 235, 237
—— for years, 124, 140, 141, 233,
236
Demons, 24
Dilcarnain, see Æra
Divination, or Diviners, 24, 28
Dreams, 14, 19, 34, 63

- Eγκαινία*, 46, 147
 Edom, vii, 221
 Egypt, 1, 49, 76, 112, 190, 222
 — Antiochus's attempts upon it, 205, 208, 210
 Elam, 127, 176
 Ellipsis, 52, 70
 Emendations conjectural, 35, 70, 81, 85, 119, 139, 164, 187, 191, 205, 233
 — supported by MSS. or Versions, 44, 54, 64, 85, 86, 102, 106, 115, 120, 134, 137, 139, 143, 156, 160, 166, 168, 171, 183, 184, 191, 193, 198, 201, 204, 207, 211, 212, 216, 221, 231
 Encyclopedic, 14, 163
 Eternal Reward, 228
 Euergetes, his piety, 193
 Eulæus, 128, 129
 Euphemismus, 68
 Fasting, 177, 182
 Feast of Dedication. See *Eγκαινία*
 Festivals, 178
 Gate, 43
 Gloss, 108, 183
 Gog and Magog, 113, 125, 221
 Greece, 143, 183, 190
 — its intercourse with the East, vii, viii
 Greek Version of the Old Test. li
 — deposited in the library of Philadelphus, lii
 Hanani, 116
 Heaven, host of, 135
 — kingdom of, 39
 Hebraisms, 8, 150, 153, 181, 185
 Heb. Cod. 240 cited, 20, 30, 42, 50, 51, 53, 66, 75, 79, 88, 93, 110
 He-goat, 130
 Hendiadys, 24, 84, 142
 Heroes deified, 98
 Honours, 82, 91
 Horns, 112, 122, 131, 133
 Horn, little one, 113, 121—125
 Hours, 81
 Hymn of the Three Children, lvii, 55
 Hyperbole, 62
 Hysterologia, 206
 Idols, 9, 216
 Jerusalem, 163, 164, 169, 208
 — destroyed, 76, 209
 Jews, 1, 145, 150, 168, 173, 196, 202
 — their Restoration, 233, 237
 Image of Gold, 44
 — worship, 114, 217, 218
 Impiety of Philopator, 196
 Inaccuracies of the Hebrew Language, 8, 12
 Indiction, 236
 Infinitive absolute, 150
 Inquiries of the Lord, 181
 Inspiration, 51
 Instruments of music, 47, 48, 49
 Internal evidence, liii
 Israelites of the dispersion, 9, 17, 126
 Judea, land of glory, 135, 199, 221
 Jupiter Ammon, 131, 133
 — Olympius, 137, 216
 Keri-Chethibs, account of, xliii
 King for Kingdom, 32, 39, 122, 131, 143
 Kings of the South and North, 190—208
 — of Babylon, 77
 Kingdoms, 32, 41, 122, 143
 — of the Saints, 120, 125
 Koran, 51, 57, 89, 228
 Languages, Eastern, vi
 Laterculus, 194
 Latter or last days, 29, 183, 219
 Leitotes, 88
 Leopard, 111
 Letter & favoured in Chald., 32
 Letters corresponding in Chald. and Heb. 24
 Libation, 80
 Libyans, 223
 Lions, 104
 Lot, 238
 Lycanthropy, 65
 Maccabees, 126, 196, 206, 212
 Magian Religion, 61
 Magicians, 13, 82
 Mahuzzim, 216, 217, 218
 Mamalucs, 222
 Manichean Heresy, 61
 MS. Pachom cited, 18, 19, 26, 33, 58, 61, 83, 97, 101, 108, 116, 127, 133, 135, 137, 140, 143, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151, 168, 171, 178, 190, 192, 213, 214, 215, 220, 238
 Mars, 217
 Masoretical Readings rejected, 20, 32, 57, 66, 68, 81, 83, 85, 87, 120, 129, 196
 — approved, 29, 37, 38
 — confirmed by MSS., 7, 31, 53, 54, 57, 58, 61, 66, 70, 82, 88, 111, 114, 137, 152, 155, 160, 161, 194, 218, 223
 Mazouled, 84
 Media, 90
 Medes and Persians, 33, 34, 90, 101,
 — both called Medes, xxii, xxviii
 Medina, 42
 Messiah, 116, 117, 126, 154, 162, 167
 — his kingdom, 40, 41, 118, 226, 237
 — passion, 166, 169
 Metaphor, 62, 173, 185, 220, 227
 Metonymy, 32, 71, 147, 210
 Mexico, 152

- Millennium, 237
 Migration Ionic, viii
 Mishna, 123, 178
 Modin, 216
 Names new, 9
 — common to Kings, 149
 — of Instruments, see Instruments
 Nebuchadnezzar's History, 75, 76
 — Transformation, 65,
 66, 71, 109,
 — Pride and Insolence,
 lxiv, 72, 86
 — Successors in Baby-
 lon, 77
 Nile, 204
 Nineveh, vii, 17, 73
 Nycthemeron, 140
 Olympiads, 194
 Omissions supplid by MSS. or Versions,
 or both, 12, 21, 23, 33, 42, 53, 70,
 71, 83, 85, 97, 101
 — in Greek of Th. 23, 97,
 108, 127, 145, 220, 233
 Onager or wild Ass, 87
 Ophir, see Uphaz
 Original Text to be adhered to, 175
 Papal Usurpation, 122, 215—220,
 237
 Parallel synonymous, xxxii
 Parched Corn, 11
 Paronomasia, 181
 Passages shown to Alexander, 130, 188
 Periphrasis, 28, 224
 Persecutions, 212
 Persian Empire, 33, 110
 Phut, 223
 Pleonasm, 12, 105, 119, 186, 195,
 207
 Plurals used of God, 61, 67, 119, 145
 Prayer, 99, 149, 155
 Prophecies obscure, xii, 234
 — exact, ix
 — gradual completion, xiii
 — double sense, 147, 158, 161,
 175, 211
 Prophecies, first sense sunk in the
 second, 161, 235
 — unfulfilled, 223, 224, 237
 Prophets in a larger sense, 152
 Prosopopœia, 96
 Psalm 130 supposed to be written by
 Daniel, xxxvi
 Pulse affecting the temper, 11
 Punishments, modes of, 21, 51
 — Officer for capital ones,
 25
 Ram, 129
 Recapitulation of Prophecy of 70
 Weeks, 174, 175
 Redundancies in Chald. or Heb. 26,
 80, 83
 Redundancies corrected by MSS. 28,
 32, 53, 115, 120, 133, 155, 236
 Repetition emphatical, 148
 Revelation of St. John Considered, the
 Treatise cited, 115, 123, 129, 145,
 180, 183, 187, 213, 215, 223
 Reverence of Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel
 not sacrifice, 41
 Resurrection, 227
 Rolls or Records, 149, 226
 Rome Imperial, 144, 174, 202, 209,
 210
 — Papal, 122, 215, 219
 Roman Empire the 4th kingdom, 35,
 36, 37, 39
 — the fourth Beast, 112, 121
 Romans, a mingled people, 38
 Roofs of Eastern Buildings, 71
 Samaritans, 198
 Sanhedrim, xlvi, 115
 Saracens, 221
 Sarcasm, 203
 Seven, 163, 174
 Shekel, 89
 Shinar, 5
 Shushan, 128
 Sketches of History, 1, 15, 75, 190
 Son of God, 56
 — Man, lx, 116, 142, 184
 Soothsayers, 13
 Sorcerers. Sortilegi, 18
 Spirits of Heaven, 66, 182, 185, 186
 Stone from the Mountain, 40, 118
 Swearing, mode of, 231
 Symbols, 130, 171, 173
 Synecdoche, 231
 Syria and Egypt, 144, 190—208
 Talmud, xlvi, 20
 Talmudists, xv, 108, 114
 Targum, lv, 20, 118, 123
 Tarshish, 179
 Teachers of Christianity, 213
 Tempest, 108
 Temple at Jerusalem, 156, 171, 211,
 237
 Temples in Elymais, 201
 Terror, 81, 126, 180, 184
 Thau, a Mark, 226
 Thebaid, 194
 Theban Lyre, 49
 Theocracy, 125
 Third Person plur. act. rendered imper-
 sonally or passively, 30, 47, 90, 101
 Thoth, 78, 194
 Threshing with Oxen, 121
 Thrones, 113
 Time, different Computations, 3
 — of the end, 142, 213, 229
 Times, 1, 66, 124, 158, 162, 231,
 232
 Titles of Honour, 45, 46
 Tomb, 101, 102

- Translation, xl, 59
 Tribulations, 226, 235
 Troglodytes, 49, 223
 Turks, 46, 221, 224, 225
 Tyre, vii, viii, 76
 Variations in Gr. Interp., 23, 42, 87,
 88, 111, 119, 131, 140, 142, 143,
 146, 151, 178, 187, 188, 205, 214
 Version Greek of Daniel, x, lii
 — Cod. Chisian, or Rom. LXX,
 x, lv
 — Coptic, xli
 Vestments, 54, 55, 91
 Visions, 107, 108, 126, 127, 142, 147,
 157, 176, 183, 186
 — of the night, 108
 Visionary station distinguished from
 real, 128
 Ulai, see Eulæus
 Universal History, xxvi, 16, 65, 79,
 92, 173, 189, 196, 202
 Uphaz, 179
 Τρεῶον, or Upper Chamber, 99
 Weeks, 70, Prophecy of, xiii, 157—
 176
 Words foreign in Daniel, vii
 Writing of Truth, 185, 187, 229
 — on the Wall, 81
 Xerxes, his force and opulence, 188
 Years lunar, xlvi, 160
 — of computation, xlvi, 165
 Zealots, 171

INDEX

OF

HEBREW AND CHALDEE WORDS AND PHRASES

TREATED OF IN THE NOTES.

א may be a masculine termination, 88
 — changed to י, 52, 82
 אב any ancestor, 80
 אבני for אבן, 5, 149, 154
 עפר dust of the ground, 227
 אולי river Ulai, 127, 129
 אוד sense doubtful, 21
 איים islands, and towns on the coast, 200
 אין לו none for him, or not his, 167
 אכל קרצי invidiously to accuse, 50
 אל צבי with ארץ dropped, to the land of glory, 135, 199, 221
 אנא or אני pleonastic use after an affix, 119, 186
 אנס to press hard, 62
 אפדנו his pavilion, 224
 ב for כ, 103, 188
 באיש to distress, 100
 בימים אחדים within a year, 202
 בינה its strong import, 157
 בלא to grow old with wearing, 123
 בלתי conjunction, its sense, 201
 במצעדיו in his footsteps, 222
 בפשא by a bold transgression, 137, 151
 בטה analogous sense, 102
 בת הנשים excellent woman, 200
 ביל age and standing, 10
 די different senses and uses, 61, 64, 100
 די לא without, 31
 דחון a table, 102
 דראון confusion, 228
 ה final mistaken for affix, 39
 — emphatic its use, 150, 167
 הצדא Is it insultingly? 52
 הרנש to meet tumultuously, 97
 וטעם the התיב explained, 24
 ו meaning and uses, 45, 85, 116, 161, 167, 171, 172, 190, 199, 204, 213
 זח doubled, applied to things distinct, 184
 זיר comeliness, or brightness of countenance, 81

זרעים arms and an offspring, 210
 זמן an appointed time, 23
 חטף and טינא the former the naked, the latter the tempered clay, 37
 חמורות κεχαρισμενη, greatly beloved, 157
 חטף or חטף, 51
 י for ה, 11
 יבנו with ל following, intransitive, 212
 ימים for ימים, 141
 ימים without an adjunct, two days, 147
 — often for a year, 202
 יצבא exact truth, 120
 יתמרמר he rushed furiously, 132
 כ particle of similitude omitted, 168
 כלה different significations, 199
 כנף a wing or border, 171
 כרת to cut off with ignominy, 166
 ל prefixed to a nominative case, 75
 להחרים του αναθεματισαι, 224
 להם food, 177
 להם לצרף to be proved among them, 213
 מהחצפא hasty or pressing, 25
 מדבר referred to the Λογος, 138
 מחא with ב following, to check or hinder, 74
 מישרים or מישרים conditions of agreement, 191, 200
 ממשלתו beside his proper dominion, 190
 מתחברות מן strong import, illustrated in the Greek, 204
 מנדע right mind 75
 מעון protector, applied to God, 217
 מעף ביעף made to fly swiftly, 156
 מצד and לצד, against, 97, 123
 מצערה opposite senses, 134
 מראה Angelic aspect, 180
 משכלים Minds well prepared, or well informed, 7, 212, 228
 נ rejected in Hebrew but favoured in Chaldee, 60
 נבובה Etymology and sense, 22, 86
 ננע to touch, or come to 156

- נדה a distant separation, 103
 נוע to totter, 181
 נחרצת its form and import, 168, 172, 214
 נחתך of abbreviation, 159, 170
 נכה to hurt, according to Syriac, 131
 נכר אשר הכיר a probable reduplication, 218
 נצבתא the stock, 36
 נשראshoot from her roots, 192
 נשר an eagle, *possibly* שחר pro שחל a black lion, 74
 נסבר to presume, 123
 נסלה mount, or engines, 198
 נע אחרין used adverbially, 61
 נעל till the goings in *of the Sun*, 101
 נע for a time, 205
 נערן and מועד as *kaipos* and *χρονος*, 231
 עירין and קרישין various senses, 63
 על preposition, omitted, 192
 על כנו on his base, 202
 עלה an action, 97
 עלעין tusks, 110
 עם preposition, of, 108
 עם מבהריו his chosen forces, 199
 מבצרי — the people of his fortifications, 199
 עשית probably an expletive, 97
 פחר the potter, 36
 פלמוני the wonderful numberer, according to its original sense, 138
 פרץ to revolt, 197
 פרתמים nobles, 6
 פתבנ etymology and sense, 8, 207
 פתנס etymology and sense, 53
 צבא host, how applied and used, 136, 177
 צדקתיך thy conditional mercies, 154
 ציים כתיים ships of Chittim, 208
 צירי wreathing pains, 184
 צרף, ברר, and לבן their import, 234
 קרן חזות a conspicuous horn, 131
 רבות a feminine absolute, 221
 רבים multitudes, *for* all, 227
 רב סרים chief chamberlain, 5
 רחוב and חרוץ the streets and completions, 163
 שוב to do again, 161
 שכל a fetter, 146
 שנים explanatory of העתים, 197
 שקרץ abominations, 171
 שר צבא and שר שרים God, or Christ 136
 תקף persevering resistance, 200
 תתך its metaphorical propriety, 173



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